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Committee on  
Un-American Activities  
House  
89th Congress

Contents  
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2. Communist Activities in the Chicago, Illinois, Area, Part 1
3. Communist Activities in the Chicago, Illinois, Area, Part 2



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H. Doc. 2791

HEARINGS RELATING TO H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215,  
H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, AND H.R.  
6700, PROVIDING FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM  
COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

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MARCH 31, APRIL 1, APRIL 28, MAY 7, AND MAY 14, 1965  
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1965

47-093 O

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*  
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- \* \* \* \* \*
- (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.  
(A) Un-American activities.  
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

#### RULE XII

##### LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.



# RULES ADOPTED BY THE 89TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 4, 1965

\* \* \* \* \*

## RULE X

### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

## RULE XI

### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.



## FOREWORD

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Nine bills to establish a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy have been referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities during this 89th Congress. They are: H.R. 470, introduced by Mr. Herlong January 4, 1965; H.R. 1033, introduced by Mr. Gubser January 4, 1965; H.R. 2215, introduced by Mr. Ichord January 11, 1965; H.R. 2379, introduced by Mr. Boggs January 12, 1965; H.R. 4389, introduced by Mr. Gurney February 4, 1965; H.R. 5370, introduced by Mr. Clausen February 24, 1965; H.R. 5784, introduced by Mr. Ashbrook March 3, 1965; H.R. 6700, introduced by Mr. Buchanan March 24, 1965; and H.R. 9209, introduced by Mr. Feighan June 17, 1965 (after committee hearings had been completed).

During the 88th Congress, nine bills having the same purpose were referred to the committee.<sup>1</sup> Extensive hearings were held by the committee during 1964 on these bills, but no bill was reported out by the committee during the 88th Congress.

The nine bills presently being considered, though they vary somewhat in detail,<sup>2</sup> have the same purpose—to provide for the establishment, under Federal auspices, of a cold war educational and research institution which would be run by an independent seven-man commission, whose chairman and members would be appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and which would operate under the general supervision of the Congress in the sense that it would have to report to it regularly and would be dependent upon it for its appropriations.

The purpose of the Academy would be to improve the ability of the United States, and the free world generally, to wage the cold war in which it is presently engaged with the international forces of communism. It would accomplish this in two ways: First, by instructing its students on the subject of communism generally, its strategy and tactics, and the weapons and devices it is using in all parts of the world to subvert free nations and replace them with Communist dictatorships; secondly, by conducting research to develop new techniques which the United States and other non-Communist nations can utilize in resisting and defeating all types of Communist “cold” warfare.

The cold war, as waged by the Communists, in the view of advocates of the Freedom Academy concept, has many different aspects. It includes traditional military or “hot” warfare and guerrilla warfare (i.e., Korea and South Vietnam) and also conventional diplomatic maneuvering. But it also includes economic, political, and psycholog-

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<sup>1</sup> The bills introduced in the 88th Congress were: H.R. 352, introduced by Mr. Herlong on January 9, 1963; H.R. 1617, by Mr. Gubser on January 10, 1963; H.R. 5368, by Mr. Boggs on April 2, 1963; H.R. 8320, by Mr. Taft on August 30, 1963; H.R. 8757, by Mr. Schweiker on October 8, 1963; H.R. 10036, by Mr. Ashbrook on February 20, 1964; H.R. 10037, by Mr. Clausen on February 20, 1964; H.R. 10077, by Mr. Schadeberg on February 24, 1964; and H.R. 11718, by Mr. Talcott on June 24, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, pp. 259-300.

ical warfare; subversion; and numerous other unconventional forms of conflict.

The free world, according to the Freedom Academy concept, is doing a more or less adequate job of study and training only in the traditional fields of military operations and diplomacy. Little or no training and research is being undertaken in the various unconventional aspects of cold warfare which are just as important as, and may be more decisive in the long run than, traditional military operations and conventional diplomacy.

The Communist bloc, on the other hand, beginning with the establishment of the Lenin School in Moscow in the twenties, has been training specialists in all forms of cold or unconventional warfare for almost 40 years. At the present time, scores of such schools exist in all parts of the Communist world—not only behind the Iron Curtain, but in Red China, in Cuba, and, on a limited and covert scale, even within the borders of free nations. Many thousands of graduates of these schools, professionals in varied forms of unconventional warfare, are daily working in all parts of the globe to undermine non-Communist nations and promote Communist aims. The free world does not have a trained counterforce on all levels of public and private life to engage and defeat these Communist “troops.”

Advocates of Freedom Academy legislation believe that the free world needs such a force and that their Academy proposal offers an effective means for developing one.

The bills referred to the committee provide that a broad range of students would attend the Freedom Academy. They would fall into three general categories:

1. Officials of the U.S. Government whose agencies are in any way involved in the U.S. effort to resist communism.

2. Leaders from all walks of civilian life in this country (broad comprehension of the nature of the conflict in which we are engaged—and also citizen participation in it—are essential to the U.S. effort to preserve and strengthen freedom and resist communism).

Students in this category would come from the ranks of management and labor, education, religion, the arts and sciences, and also civic, veterans', women's, fraternal, professional, and similar groups.

3. Leaders and potential leaders from all walks of life, governmental and private, from foreign countries. They would include representatives of our NATO and SEATO allies, as well as the newly independent nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where the knowledge of the real nature of communism and the cold war is essential if the United States is to be successful in resisting further Communist encroachments and thus the weakening of freedom and its own position in all parts of the world.

The Freedom Academy would be purely a research and educational institution. It would not engage in operational activities of any kind. Its students, however, whether citizens of this or foreign countries and whether Government officials or privately employed, would utilize the knowledge gained at the Academy to improve measures now being utilized to resist communism and to develop new operations, governmental as well as private, to aid in this effort.

# HEARINGS RELATING TO H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, AND H.R. 6700, PROVIDING FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31, 1965

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

## PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in Room 313A, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; and John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Ichord, and Ashbrook.

Committee members also present: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas; George F. Senner, Jr., of Arizona; and Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director, and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

The Chair would like to make a statement.

Nine bills to establish a Freedom Commission and Academy were referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities during the last Congress. Extensive hearings were held on these bills and the testimony has been printed and published in two parts. In the 89th Congress, to date, eight bills have been referred to this committee. Five of these are bills identical to those which were offered by the same members in the last Congress; namely, Representatives Herlong, Gubser, Boggs, Ashbrook, and Clausen. The other three bills were offered in this Congress by Representatives Ichord, Gurney, and Buchanan. We are convened today to receive additional testimony upon these bills.

Although the bills vary in certain details, they all have the same purpose, namely, to provide for the establishment, under Federal auspices, of a cold war educational and research institution as an independent agency, to be managed by a seven-man Commission, whose chairman and members would be appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate.

The major difference between the bills before the committee appears to be that six make provision for an Advisory Committee and two for a Joint Congressional Freedom Committee. The bills provide for one or the other exclusively.

The Advisory Committee is to be composed of representatives from executive agencies concerned with the Academy's objectives, to insure cooperation between the Academy and these agencies, to review the operations of the Commission, and report its findings annually to the President and the Congress.

The Joint Congressional Freedom Committee is to be composed of 14 members, equally divided between the Senate and the House, whose purpose is to make continued studies of the activities of the Commission, to hold hearings and investigations on matters relating to its objectives, as well as to receive bills, resolutions, and other matters in the Senate or House relating to the Commission and on which the joint committee will report respectively to the Senate and the House through those members appointed from the respective bodies.

I direct that the bills, H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, and H.R. 6700 be received in the record.<sup>1</sup>

I now offer for the record the order of appointment of the subcommittee designated to conduct this hearing, as follows:

MARCH 24, 1965.

TO MR. FRANCIS J. McNAMARA,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities:*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Richard Ichord and Honorable John M. Ashbrook as associate members, and myself as Chairman, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., commencing on or about Tuesday, March 30, 1965, and at such other time or times thereafter and at such place or places as said subcommittee shall determine, on the following bills proposing passage of a "Freedom Commission Act," and any other similar bills which may be referred to this Committee: H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, and H.R. 5784.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 24th day of March, 1965.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,  
EDWIN E. WILLIS,

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

We are glad to have with us a member of the full committee who has kindly consented to participate in these hearings and I hope that, since he is here, he can attend all the hearings and will consent to become a member of the subcommittee.

Anyway, Mr. Weltner, of Georgia, is with us and we welcome him.

The first witness this morning is our colleague, Mr. Gubser, who is author of the bill, H.R. 1033, one of the bills referred to. Mr. Gubser, we appreciate your interest in this legislation and your offering of the bill. We welcome your views.

<sup>1</sup> See appendix, pp. 259-300. (Also included is H.R. 9209, a bill introduced by Mr. Feighan after conclusion of the hearings.)

# STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM CALIFORNIA

Mr. GUBSER. Thank you very much. I would request permission to insert a statement in the record and make a very few informal remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed as you wish. If you want the statement introduced at this point it will be done.

Mr. GUBSER. I would appreciate it at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received at this point.

(Congressman Grubser's prepared statement follows:)

## STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM CALIFORNIA

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. I deeply appreciate the opportunity to appear before you to testify in behalf of my bill, H.R. 1033.

There is no doubt that communism is spreading and that the territory of this planet which remains exclusively dedicated to freedom is diminishing. Though wishful thinkers say to themselves that test ban treaties, wheat sales, and other apparent improvements in East-West relations signal a permanent thaw in the cold war, a simple look around the globe reveals otherwise. The truth is that we are losing the cold war!

On December 18, 1963, I inserted a chart into the *Congressional Record* which I had prepared with the cooperation of the Library of Congress. The chart shows that in 1917, 10.1 percent of the world's population lived in 8,603,000 square miles of Communist territory. The growth and spread of communism has been gradual since that time, until as of last year 34.99 percent of the world's population (1,109,500,000 people) lives in a Communist world which includes 13,761,000 square miles. I will submit this chart for inclusion in the record at the end of my testimony.<sup>1</sup>

The world map is a seething blot of Communist-inspired trouble. Can any rational man look at the globe and say we are not losing the cold war?

In searching for a reason, it is easy to fall into the trap of oversimplification. Undoubtedly there are many reasons, but certainly one of the most significant is our failure to win the war of propaganda. Time after time the free world has responded with military action to combat communism. But almost always the forces of subversion have done their work so effectively that military action has come too late. Southeast Asia is the perfect example. Laos fell to the forces of subversion which were unopposed until it was too late. In Vietnam, the forces of subversion gained such a head start that the military response has been placed at almost an impossible disadvantage. The same thing is happening in dozens of other places.

It should be obvious by now that the Communist system of subversion is working and that our response has been of the wrong kind and is too late. In the battle for men's minds an initial advantage is frequently decisive, particularly in backward and impoverished areas.

In view of our consistent failure to match Communist propaganda, does it not seem wise that we take stock of what has produced the success of our enemies and meet it on the ground of that success?

When Lenin and his followers captured Russia, they established a training system that has grown to 6,000 special schools which teach the tactics of espionage, subversion, infiltration, agitation, and propaganda.

Admittedly, this is not a proper free world tactic, nor would we want it to become our practice. The basis of freedom is freedom of choice, and we do not wish to impose our choice upon others. To do so would be to defile the essence of freedom. But to allow a vacuum into which Communist propaganda can move is to create an environment where the Communist way can win without opposition. This is not freedom of choice.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 14.

Our State Department hastily employs the cliché of "indoctrination" to indict any suggestion from non-State Department sources favoring a propaganda effort to influence people in favor of freedom as opposed to communism. This reaction is a carryover from the modern intellectual's proper and justified respect for "academic freedom." But it employs a basic fallacy.

Academic freedom exists in an academic environment where knowledge is freely available. But in the target areas for Communist propaganda, only Communist knowledge is available unless we present the other side. It is not indoctrination when one side presents its case, knowing full well that the other side will do likewise. *To reject our propaganda mission, then, is to promote indoctrination rather than renounce it.*

Our long and consistent record of failures to meet the Communist propaganda offensive proves that it is time to break the diplomatic monopoly which seems to consider any public relations or educational program that it does not suggest and control as "indoctrination."

Psychological warfare, public relations, propaganda, or whatever you choose to call it, is a science and a definite technique which must be learned through specialized instruction. Our diplomats have failed because they have not been trained in a highly skilled technique. It is time we recognize that Communist propagandists have filled the vacuum caused by the inactivity of freedom's proponents and are winning the war for men's minds.

The purpose of my bill is to fill this vacuum and give our overseas personnel the training which will enable them to recognize Communist propaganda for what it is and resist it on the spot. By so doing I am convinced we can avoid the inevitable military action which always comes too late.

Mr. Chairman, there are other features of my bill which could be discussed, for example, the provision for training foreign nationals. But the basic argument for this important provision is the same. We must recognize the fact that the Communist propagandist is succeeding because he is allowed to operate in a vacuum and we must present a counterforce which denies this advantage.

This legislation is certainly not perfect and perhaps needs amendment. Perhaps an entirely new bill needs to be written. But the basic idea that we need a Freedom Academy is a sound recognition of the reality that freedom is losing to slavery and there is no present indication that the trend will change.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I had planned to do no more than submit this statement, which is basically the same statement which I presented to the committee last year, but through the kindness of your committee director I was just handed a copy of the State Department's adverse report upon all of these bills, including my own.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you yield at this point? I am very glad that you brought that up. I take it you want to make comments about it.

Mr. GUBSER. I would like to make a few comments about it if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the record will be complete the letter of the State Department, addressed to me and dated March 29, 1965, will be inserted in the record at this point, and we will be glad to get your comments on the letter.

(The letter follows:)





DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1965

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Department appreciates the opportunity to comment on H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 4389, bills to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, which you forwarded to the Department.

These bills are identical in purpose and scope to proposals submitted in previous sessions of Congress and on which the Department has commented. On these occasions, we expressed appreciation of the purposes of the sponsors and recognized the merits of certain aspects of the proposal, but expressed the belief that the bill as a whole would not serve as a useful instrument of national policy.

The sponsors of the Freedom Commission bills urge correctly, in the Department's view, that in our struggle with the forces of tyranny---and communism in particular--- we must employ not only military strength but also all of the political, psychological, economic and other non-military means at our disposal. The President has given to the Department of State a primary role in marshalling all of our resources in these fields which cut across many broad areas of government responsibility. The integrated efforts of the foreign affairs and security agencies are as vital in developing the overall strategy and tactics of the "cold war" as in carrying them out. Expertise and operational experience are as important in the formulation of policy as they are in its execution. For this reason, the Department seriously questions whether comprehensive and realistic plans for dealing with the infinitely complex problems of U.S. Foreign Affairs can be developed by a new, separate government agency, especially one without operational responsibilities.

The Honorable

Edwin E. Willis, Chairman  
Un-American Activities Committee  
House of Representatives

- 2 -

The Freedom Commission proposals place great stress upon the mobilization of private citizens---domestic and foreign---to fight the cold war, and upon a systematic orientation of our citizens against communism. The proposals contemplate that these tasks be undertaken on a large scale by the Executive branch of the government. While it is very useful in certain circumstances to train private U.S. citizens and foreign nationals, our primary need---and hence our first priority---is to improve in all possible ways the training of government personnel involved in the day-to-day operation of our foreign affairs.

While the cost of implementing the Freedom Commission program has never been specified, various proponents have stated it would amount to several million dollars a year. We feel there are more effective ways to use such expenditures in our struggle for freedom.

Another problem raised by several of the Freedom Commission bills is federal control. Under the provision entitled "Information Center", the Freedom Commission would be "authorized to prepare, make and publish textbooks and other materials, including training films, suitable for high schools, college and community level instruction". There is further provision that the Commission can distribute such material on "such terms and conditions as it shall determine".

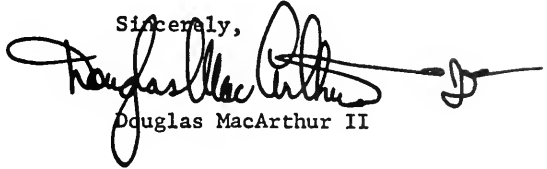
The Department doubts the value of any effort to centralize and standardize the dissemination of information in such areas. This would appear to be a marked departure from the traditional role of the Federal Government in the field of political education.

For these and other reasons, the Department cannot support the bills to create a Freedom Commission which are now before you.

- 3 -

The Bureau of the Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Douglas MacArthur II', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Douglas MacArthur II

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, it is very interesting to me to note the changed line in the State Department opposition to this bill. Last year, if you will recall, a great point was made of the fact that it is not the proper function of the United States Government to attempt to indoctrinate people of other nations.

My statement which I just filed was addressed to that point, and I quote part of it:

Our State Department hastily employs the cliché of "indoctrination" to indict any suggestion from non-State Department sources favoring a propaganda effort to influence people in favor of freedom as opposed to communism. This reaction is a carryover from the modern intellectual's proper and justified respect for "academic freedom." But it employs a basic fallacy.

Academic freedom exists in an academic environment where knowledge is freely available. But in the target areas for Communist propaganda, only Communist knowledge is available unless we present the other side. It is not indoctrination when one side presents its case, knowing full well that the other side will do likewise. *To reject our propaganda mission, then, is to promote indoctrination rather than renounce it.*

I note that the State Department's adverse report this year does not dwell on the point of indoctrination. Instead it takes the tack that this is Federal control. This to me is absolutely amazing because now the State Department has absolute control of this propaganda effort and they are objecting to extending it to a system whereby individual citizens could participate in carrying out that important function. This bill would, in effect, be a relaxation of Federal control and the spreading of the responsibility to more of our citizens instead of to just a very few.

The events of the world about us, Mr. Chairman, and I don't need to relate them, are clear-cut evidence of the fact that we or the State Department or whoever is responsible for this job has not assumed the responsibility and has not done anything about it. I would like to leave you with just this one point: If you accept the State Department's thesis that the Department, the Department alone, has all the knowledge that is required to do this job and has the sole responsibility of carrying on this very, very important mission, and as long as that policy continues to produce a worldwide result like that which is happening before our very eyes today, then I say we are inviting the frustration which causes extremist groups to spring up all over this country. We are creating a situation where extremist groups will take over that which the State Department has failed to do and that which the State Department refuses to give anyone else the right to do.

If we have had irresponsible statements made about communism, if we have had irresponsible propaganda that has gotten into worldwide news channels as a result of extremist groups, it is because of the frustration that has resulted from the fact that the State Department continues, year in and year out, to do nothing about solving this problem.

Mr. Chairman, I didn't intend to make a speech, but I get pretty exercised on this subject and I sincerely hope and pray that this committee will once again face up to its responsibility, like it always does, and that it will report out a bill and give the House a chance to vote on it, in spite of the State Department's objections. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is very grateful for your views. I do remember very clearly that the whole burden of Ambassador Harri- man's testimony last year was built around the word "indoctrination" and, I too, was troubled by the fact that nowhere in this latest expression of views is that word used.

Am I correct?

Mr. GUBSER. That is correct as I read it.

The CHAIRMAN. I said last year that this ought to be made a matter of record. We have bills up here, apparently, from two sources. There are some who have a feeling that if the Freedom Academy bill should pass, the operation will be "taken over" by the State Department.

On the other hand, here we see the State Department acknowledging that we intend no such thing. We certainly will not, because we cannot involve this Academy or this Commission in formulation of foreign policy or anything else.

Mr. GUBSER. Of course not.

The CHAIRMAN. It is none of our business in Congress. That is their department. But certainly there ought to be a way to have an institution of this kind which, on the one hand, respects the running of our foreign policy by the State Department and, on the other hand, serves as an educational center for the purposes stated in this bill.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that there is another point which I failed to mention; that too often American policy is to react rather than act; and always when something happens which is adverse to our interests and the rest of the world, the official propaganda line or the reaction doesn't come immediately—it comes tomorrow or the next day—because somebody had to consult with headquarters back in Washington before they could act. We all know, as people who deal with the news columns, that the time to rebut something that is adverse to your position is in the same article that prints it in the first place. On the second day the reaction is never as effective as the action on the day that it actually happens. This is one of the things that trained people could do for us.

They would have the knowledge and they would have the ability to act instead of reacting. Action is far more productive of results than reaction.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend my colleague, Mr. Gubser, for his appearance before the committee today and taking interest in this area and introducing a bill because I feel very much like the gentleman from California, that this is one of the most important pieces of legislation to be presented to this body this session and also last session.

The gentleman witness is also a member of the Armed Services Committee and is very familiar with the military aspects of the conflict in South Vietnam. How do you feel that this Freedom Commission or Freedom Academy could have helped our country in the conflict in South Vietnam?

Mr. GUBSER. I will only address myself to one small aspect of that question, if I may. We have dedicated, competent people, and this is nothing against them, but I feel, if we had had more people in Vietnam right along who could take the offensive propagandawise, that perhaps our position with the Vietnamese themselves would have been more clearly understood, but as it stands now we wait for something to happen which is adverse to our interests and then we explain our position and we react to it, and this is never a favorable public relations position.

Had we had more people who would instinctively react to a situation and act then, I think that we wouldn't be in the position of constantly explaining our actions and more than likely there would have been a great deal more political stability in South Vietnam than we have experienced up until now, and we all agree that the political instability is responsible in a large measure for the military instability of the situation.

I think the benefit of this bill will come from having trained people on the spot qualified to make immediate judgment as to what could be done to our advantage. It would be a cumulative thing. There would be no one dramatic incident which you could point to, but if it were done day in and day out by trained people then you would have a cumulative effect.

Mr. ICHORD. I think the gentleman is familiar with the fact that the State Department is also sponsoring more or less a substitute for this bill called the National Academy for Foreign Affairs. I believe that is the name of it. What do you consider the advantages in your bill over the Department of State bill, namely, the National Academy of Foreign Affairs?

Mr. GUBSER. I certainly am not opposed to the State Department's idea of a national Foreign Service academy. I would strongly favor it, but the thing is that this does not go below the diplomatic echelon, and I maintain that anybody in the military or in the consular service where they have a reasonable degree of responsibility should be trained in these techniques. The State Department proposal is not a substitute for this bill, though I am in favor of it. It will only be an enriched course in diplomacy. It will not be a course in basic public relations, and that is what I consider this Freedom Academy proposal to be, among other things.

Furthermore, by taking the American people into your confidence we would make them a part of the activity. The American people are able to assume this responsibility. The ability to think and act properly and in the national interest isn't confined to the State Department. We can support State Department and U.S. Information Agency activity if we have an informed populace at home that understands these things.

I think if we would have had the Freedom Academy in existence 10 years ago you perhaps wouldn't be getting some of the mail that you are getting from some of these people who believe that our position

in Vietnam is wrong. I think they would understand the basics of Communist propaganda and Communist infiltration and they would be supporting us rather than making our task more difficult.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, all of the bills provide for an Advisory Committee with the exception of H.R. 1033, introduced by the witness, and H.R. 5784, introduced by our colleague, Mr. Ashbrook.

Your bill and Mr. Ashbrook's bill, Mr. Gubser, provide for a Joint Congressional Freedom Committee. I am a little concerned about setting up a joint committee. I wonder if the members of the committee would really have the time to perform the duties required in the bill. I would like you to comment on that aspect of difference.

Mr. GUBSER. I think you may very well have an excellent point and I want to make my intentions in introducing this bill clearly known. It is presented as an idea. There is no pride in authorship. I have no illusion that if it were passed it would be in that form. It is merely to make my support of the idea known, to present it for your consideration.

I have full confidence that this committee could improve it and come up with something that would be in the national interest and I would support it.

Mr. ICHORD. Another point is your bill provides a salary of \$20,000 for each member of the Commission and a salary of \$20,500 for the chairman of the Commission. Of course, since the bills were introduced last year we have passed the civil service increase ratings, and you believe that the salaries should be adjusted accordingly?

Mr. GUBSER. I certainly would think so. As I stated, it is only an idea draft. It is the principle and the objective that I am after. The details I think you are more qualified to work out.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ashbrook?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Thank you very much. Like my colleague, Mr. Ichord, I, too, welcome you to the committee and thank you, Mr. Gubser, only not for what you have done, but what you have said this morning.

Getting back to the point of the Joint Congressional Freedom Committee as against the Advisory Committee, I would like to ask your opinion on one specific point, and this I know has been a matter of concern to me. One of the reasons that I have not been favorable to the Advisory Committee concept is the fact that on the Advisory Committee you would have one representative each from the following agencies and departments. As I recall I think they are State; Defense; Health, Education, and Welfare; CIA; FBI; AID; and the USIA. It seems to me that the problem we have here is that the State Department has pretty much transcended in this field and it would end up, for want of a better phrase, literally running the Freedom Academy. I think if there is anything we are looking for it is the idea of academic freedom and independence from the Government, to get away from Federal control.

What would be your thinking on the matter of the Joint Congressional Freedom Committee as against the Advisory Committee? Does it seem that this is a danger in the approach that we see in the Advisory Committee?

Mr. GUBSER. Once again I would not like to deal with the details and specifics. I would like those to be developed by you people after your hearings and your deliberations. I would just say generally that I would not be in favor of domination by any one school of thought or any one agency.

On the other hand, I would not be one that would want to completely freeze the State Department out. I would want their influence to be completely felt, as it should be. This is the agency that is responsible for our foreign policy, but I do think that the base should be broadened and certainly all ideas ought to have a fair chance of being considered.

Whatever technique or whatever commission or joint committee would accomplish that objective I would be for, but I am not prepared to state specifically what I think, at this point, it should be.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I know in my discussions of this bill with people from the academies and professors, and so forth, their biggest fear is in setting up something that will not really be independent, that will not really have what is classically known as academic freedom. And I would be most interested in your thinking on this question, because I know this is one thing the committee is going to wrestle with—how we do something like this, make it a meaningful part of our policy, and yet at the same time give it a certain amount of freedom, which could mean its going off halfcocked in one direction or another.

This is a real delicate area where we have some difficulty in trying to ride two horses and have a policy that we want, a strong policy on the cold war vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and at the same time have academic freedom.

How do you reconcile these?

Mr. GUBSER. You just may want to consider expanding the Commission idea to include representatives of the minority and majority on, say, the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Armed Services Committee of the Congress, but here again I wouldn't want congressional influence to dominate the policy. However, it certainly should be there and it might be a leavening influence.

Mr. ASHBROOK. But you feel that a Freedom Academy of this type should have differences of opinion? You might have people on the Academy that say we should bomb North Vietnam and those who would say we negotiate, and each would have a forum for their opinions.

Mr. GUBSER. Of course. Some day I hope this country comes back to the point where a difference of opinion is respected.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Gubser.

Mr. GUBSER. Thank you.

(The chart submitted by Mr. Gubser follows:)

[From Congressional Record, Dec. 18, 1963, p. A7701]

*Communist expansion since 1917*

Date <sup>1</sup>	Country	At time of communization <sup>2</sup>		Mid-1963 <sup>3</sup>		Area in square miles (1963) <sup>4</sup>
		Population <sup>5</sup>	Percent of world total <sup>6</sup>	Population	Percent of world total	
Nov. 7, 1917	U.S.S.R.	182,182,000	10.1	224,700,000	7.1	8,603,000
Nov. 26, 1924	Mongolia	647,000	.03	1,000,000	.03	614,000
Aug. 3, 1940	Lithuania	<sup>7</sup> 2,879,000	.12	( <sup>8</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )
Aug. 5, 1940	Latvia	<sup>10</sup> 1,950,000	.10	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )
Aug. 6, 1940	Estonia	<sup>11</sup> 1,126,000	.05	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )
Nov. 29, 1945	Yugoslavia	15,600,000	.64	19,000,000	.60	99,000
Jan. 10, 1946	Albania	1,125,000	.04	1,800,000	.06	11,000
Sept. 15, 1946	Bulgaria	6,993,000	.30	8,100,000	.25	43,000
Dec. 30, 1947	Rumania	16,530,000	.70	18,900,000	.60	92,000
June 9, 1948	Czechoslovakia	12,339,000	.50	14,000,000	.44	49,000
Sept. 12, 1948	Korea (Democratic People's Republic)	9,291,000	.37	8,900,000	.30	48,000
Aug. 20, 1949	Hungary	9,247,000	.36	10,100,000	.31	36,000
Sept. 21, 1949	China (People's Republic)	463,493,000	18.47	730,800,000	23.00	3,897,000
Oct. 7, 1949	Germany (Democratic Republic)	17,688,000	.70	17,200,000	.54	42,000
Apr. 19, 1950	Poland	24,977,000	1.00	30,800,000	1.00	120,000
Dec. 29, 1954	Vietnam (Democratic Republic)	16,632,000	.60	17,000,000	.53	63,000
Dec. 2, 1961	Cuba	6,933,000	.22	7,200,000	.23	44,000
Total				1,109,500,000	34.99	<sup>12</sup> 13,761,000

<sup>1</sup> Date given is that on which the country declared itself a people's republic, was incorporated into the U.S.S.R. (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) or, as in the case of Cuba, when Castro announced he would lead Cuba "to a people's democracy." East Germany excludes Berlin in all columns.

<sup>2</sup> Because it is extremely difficult to obtain reliable demographic data for the years prior to 1955, most of the population statistics has been synthesized from the following sources: "Statesman's Yearbook," 1917, 1940, 1941; "U.N. Demographic Yearbook," 1955, 7th issue, table 3, pp. 117-127; "U.N. Demographic Yearbook," 1962, 14th issue; "World Summary," p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> In most cases the population given is quite close to the date of communization. In certain cases, however, the data available was several years distant from the date of communization.

<sup>4</sup> The availability of world total population upon which the percentages must be based is even more difficult to obtain. The following world figures taken from U.N. sources were used: 1920, 1,811,000,000; 1930, 2,015,000,000; 1940, 2,249,000,000; 1945, 2,423,000,000; 1950, 2,509,000,000; 1955, 2,750,000,000; 1960, 3,008,000,000; 1961, 3,069,000,000.

<sup>5</sup> "World Population, 1963," Population Bulletin, vol. XIX, No. 6, October 1963. (Percentage for 1963 based on world total of 3,180,000,000 persons.)

<sup>6</sup> Total world area, excluding Antarctica: 52,409,000 square miles. Communist nations constitute 26.25 percent of this figure.

<sup>7</sup> 1915.

<sup>8</sup> 1939.

<sup>9</sup> Presently included in all U.S.S.R. statistics.

<sup>10</sup> 1935.

<sup>11</sup> 1934.

<sup>12</sup> 26.25 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize Mr. Ashbrook, the ranking minority member of this committee, to make whatever comments he cares to from where he sits on his own bill, H.R. 5784.

## STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM OHIO

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to say a few words not only in behalf of the idea expressed in the concept of a Freedom Academy, but in particular on the specific bill which I introduced.

As most of you know, my bill is a companion bill with that of Mr. Gubser's, so many of the same statements which Mr. Gubser made would be equally applicable to my bill.

(At this point Congressman Ashbrook submitted a prepared statement. It follows:)



STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE  
FROM OHIO

How is it possible that a small group of ragged Russian revolutionaries, in a few short decades of history, could place almost one third of the world's population in the grip of slavery?

The answer lies, in part, in the concept and implementation of total political war which these revolutionaries and their successors have developed over the years. As early as 1928 the U.S.S.R. was graduating finely trained agents schooled in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational aspects of spreading global communism.

In contrast, the free world has yet to establish an organization or agency to combat this onslaught on the very existence of free men or to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge to extend the areas of freedom.

This is the purpose of pending legislation to establish a Freedom Commission. Specifically, H.R. 5784, which I have submitted would train Government officials, private U.S. citizens, and foreign students concerning the strategy and tactics of the international Communist conspiracy. A Freedom Commission, an independent agency, would be established in the executive branch, to oversee and direct the program.

The Commission would be empowered to establish a Freedom Academy for the express purpose of:

(1) developing systematic knowledge about the international Communist conspiracy;

(2) development of counteraction to the international Communist conspiracy into an operational science that befits and bespeaks the methods and values of free men; and to achieve this purpose the entire area of counteraction is to be thoroughly explored and studied, with emphasis on the methods and means that may be best employed by private citizens and nongovernmental organizations and the methods and means available to Government agencies other than the methods and means already being used;

(3) the education and training of private citizens concerning all aspects of the international Communist conspiracy;

(4) the education and training of persons in Government service concerning all aspects of Communist conspiracy.

The legislation would also establish an information center to disseminate information and materials which will assist persons and organizations to increase their understanding of the true nature of the Communist conspiracy. When one remembers that organizations such as the American Bar Association, the National Education Association, and The American Legion, among others, have stressed the urgent need for responsible information and education on the Communist conspiracy, this aspect of the Freedom Academy legislation is of particular value.

Also to be established by this legislation is a Joint Congressional Freedom Committee, which shall make continued studies of the activities of the Commission and of problems relating to the development of counteraction to the international Communist conspiracy.

When one reflects that it was just 1 year after Charles Lindbergh made his historic flight across the Atlantic that the Soviet Union began sending trained personnel around the world, is it any wonder that they are winning in this struggle for survival and the areas of freedom diminish year after year?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, with each day's headlines reporting new incidents showing the Communist Party's growing grip on Indonesia—and I just point this out as one example—here is a news article, which I would also ask permission to have inserted in the record following these remarks, that shows how it is being done over there.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be done. The insertion will be made.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ASHBROOK. It also shows why the United States desperately needs to face the facts and start a Freedom Academy to train democratic leadership to fight back right where the cold war is being lost.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 18.

That, of course, is at the village level and the grassroots precinct level.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (to group of students). I might say that the committee is pleased to have you students visit us. You are always welcome.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The organizational tactics described in the article which is being inserted, an article written by Neil Sheehan, are an exact copy of tactics developed by that master of Communist tactics of mass organization and propaganda, Willi Munzenberg. This was developed in Germany in the 1920's.

Anyone who is interested may learn the whole story by reading Ruth Fischer's book, *Stalin and German Communism*. Munzenberg not only developed these forms of mass organization in Germany; he was also a secret officer of the Communist International at the same time, which liked his techniques and admired his genius so much that it had them taught in the Communist schools of revolution, such as the Lenin Institute.

The Comintern even sent members of Asian Communist parties—including, we may be sure, some of the early leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party—to Germany to train and work under Munzenberg and learn through on-the-job training all the skills of mass political organization we now see destroying freedom in Indonesia, expelling United States businessmen, and humiliating United States diplomats.

I wonder, Mr. Chairman, when we will learn that the cold war is no task for amateurs, that kids from Keokuk and Pocatello are not going to save countries like the Congo and Indonesia; that we have to train some foreigners in the skills they will need to cope with the Communist wreckers and create their own independence, free and democratic organizations to build better lives for their citizens.

As you read the article you see how the other side—and when I say “the other side,” of course I recognize the fact that we are in a struggle; I think many of us do not really in our day-to-day living reflect upon the point that we are in a cold war struggle—trains people; that you can go to Moscow, you can go to their various institutes, and learn something about their beliefs. Of course, we disagree with their beliefs, but they learn their task well and they go back to their country. In a free government such as ours, our goal is never going to be the indoctrination, the instilling of motives in people, so when they go back to their country they will subvert. I think the dif-

ference between the Freedom Academy and the Lenin Institute, the type of cold war strategy of the Kremlin, is the fact that we can open up our Academy, or we can open up our Commission, to people throughout the world.

Let them come in on a free-exchange-of-ideas basis, learn about communism, learn about our system of government, and then go back to their country, not with the idea in mind of reporting back to people here in Washington as they do at the Lenin Institute, not with the idea in mind of subverting or indoctrinating, but going back to their countries and becoming spokesmen for freedom, spokesmen for our way of life. I happen to think that one of the reasons why we are failing to some extent in the cold war struggle is the fact that we don't even recognize it exists. And to me, this would be the most single attribute and factor in our favor if we would enact a bill like this, in that it would show to the rest of the world that we really think there is a struggle; that we have set forth on our part an effort to train people in the ways of the cold war struggle; that if we would do this we would have not only Americans who could learn something about communism, but many hundreds, maybe literally thousands, from throughout the world who could come to this Academy.

I know in the hearings, as I look through them, we tend to under-rate the value of such a Commission as a Mecca for students throughout the world who want to learn about freedom, who want to learn more about communism. And I would make that point, and stress that point, that a Commission of this type is not only valuable to the United States, but because we are a leader in the world it would be valuable to the rest of the world.

It would give a forum to many students who come into this country on an exchange basis. Maybe they would be from the state departments of free countries throughout the world, maybe they would be military people, but they could come to our country, could learn about freedom, could learn about communism, in an effective manner. I would stress that point as strongly as any other factor in favor of the establishment of a Freedom Commission. This article in the *New York Times* of March 28 points up the importance of it.

I certainly hope, Mr. Chairman, that in this session of Congress we can make such a step, and I certainly pledge all of my efforts both as a member of this committee and as an interested Member of Congress in legislation of this type.

(The article submitted by Mr. Ashbrook follows:)

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1965. (p. 4-3)

# Village in Java a Case Study in Red Tactics

## Peasant Tells Why He Joined a Group Run by Party

By NEIL SHEEHAN

Special to The New York Times

SOLOTIRAN, Indonesia —

Mr. Martoyoso, an elderly Javanese rice farmer who lives in this small village, was asked by a visitor why he had joined the peasant association of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

Mr. Martoyoso, a typical Javanese peasant, is 70 years old. He is slim and short and his brown face is shrunken with age. He dresses in soiled turban and sarong, the type of clothing his ancestors have worn for centuries.

The farmer twisted his face in thought and, as his toothless mouth spread into a smile, he replied: "Because I am a farmer and it is a farmers' organization. There are not any other farmers' organizations here. The Communists are the only people who have ever offered to help us."

Mr. Martoyoso said most of the other farmers in the village "think the same way." Apparently they do, since most of them have also joined the Communist party's Indonesian Peasants Organization.

### Case Study in Tactics

Solotiran is a peasant community of about 2,500 11 miles north of the city of Jogjakarta. Its woven bamboo and stucco huts, with red tile roofs, are set among rice fields and banana groves at the foot of Mount Merapi, a volcano that is still active.

The village is a case study in how the Communists are converting quiet Javanese villages into party strongholds.

Through a combination of hard work, good organization, practical politics and a great deal of fun, the Communists have brought the peasants of Solotiran into the 20th century. They have given them political



Miss Suniharni, teacher, with members of her class at Communist women's kindergarten

The New York Times (by Neil Sheehan)

consciousness and a sense of solidarity and direction.

The 120 hectares of arable land in the village is rich, volcanic soil that yields two to three crops a year. The constant growth in population, however, has put great pressure on the rudimentary economy and has generated considerable social discontent.

Approximately half the farmers are landless and most of the others, like Mr. Martoyoso, own only about one-third of a hectare. A hectare is about two and a half acres.

The Communist peasant or-

ganization has won loyalty by showing farmers better techniques, forming cooperatives for the purchase of seeds, salt and oil and holding classes to teach the illiterate to read and write. It has supported peasants in disputes over crop-sharing rights with the more solid farmers in the village and adjoining areas.

One of the most important Communist activities is by a cultural group that puts on plays and skits and stages song and dance shows.

These performances provide amusement for villagers who would otherwise lead dull lives.

They are also an effective means of indoctrinating the peasants in Communist ideology.

In a recent performance for a visitor, eight village boys and girls, all about 10 years old, danced gracefully in classical Javanese style, weaving their hips and arms, and sang what sounded like lilting Javanese folk tunes.

The lyrics, however, urged the peasants to "crush" imperialists, colonialists and the so-called seven village devils—among them the larger landowners, corrupt village officials and moneylenders.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

**STATEMENT OF HON. DON H. CLAUSEN, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE  
FROM CALIFORNIA**

Our colleague, Congressman Clausen, has offered a bill, H.R. 5370. He was to be here, but other appointments in his schedule have kept him away, so I now insert in the record his statement about this legislation.

(Congressman Clausen's prepared statement follows:)

**STATEMENT OF HON. DON H. CLAUSEN, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM  
CALIFORNIA**

I am happy again to have the opportunity to join with the many informed and distinguished Americans who have endorsed the Freedom Academy proposal. I sponsored such legislation in the 88th Congress. In the current Congress, I have introduced H.R. 5370.

In the hearings conducted by this committee during the last Congress, I testified on behalf of this proposal at some length. As these hearings continue, I expect to have the pleasure of extending my remarks. For the moment, I wish to reaffirm my position with respect to this bill. In the light of the grave international situation, it seems that every passing hour witnesses a growing urgency for the adoption of the Freedom Academy proposal.

I want to direct the attention of the committee particularly to the provisions of section 10 of my bill. This, in fact, conforms to provisions of other bills before this committee, particularly section 10 of H.R. 470, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 2215, and H.R. 6700. This section deals with the security check of personnel who participate in the operation or program of the Freedom Academy.

My bill, and other bills which I have noted, require in general a security investigation of (1) all persons employed by the Freedom Commission, (2) any person who is permitted to have access to classified information, and (3) at the discretion of the Commission, of any individual under consideration for training at the Academy. It is noted that none of the bills, including my own, require a security check of members of the Freedom Commission. These members are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Not only does the bill fail to make provision for a security check of the Commission members, but there is presently no statutory provision of which I am aware that would require it. However, it is true that for some years past, investigations for appointments of this sort have been normally required under executive order. Executive Order 10450, promulgated by President Eisenhower in April 1953, presently in effect, requires that the appointment of every civil officer or employee in any department or agency of the Government shall be made the subject of an investigation.

Under the executive order, the scope of the investigation is determined according to the degree of adverse effect the occupant of the position to be filled could bring about—by virtue of the nature of the position—on the national security. Although a "national agency check" is required of all appointees, a full field investigation is required only for "sensitive positions," that is to say, those positions which would have a materially adverse effect on the national security. While I think that there is no question that membership on the Freedom Commission is a "sensitive position," this may, on the other hand, depend upon one's point of view. It must also be realized that executive orders are matters within the authority of the President. They may be amended or revoked at his discretion.

Nevertheless, in view of the fact that prior practice and existing executive orders have required preappointment investigation, together with the further consideration that appointments are subject to the approval of the Senate, I have adopted the position of other bills which contain no express provision for investigation of members of the Commission. However, while adopting that position in the proposal, I am not certain that such a requirement should necessarily be omitted. I feel it is a matter the committee should review in some depth, as I believe it will. I want to make clear that my omission of such a requirement does not necessarily express my settled conviction on this point.

I want to say further that I greatly appreciate the thoroughness of the committee's inquiry on the subject of the Freedom Academy bills. Your hearings in the last Congress were extensive and commendable. I believe that those of us who have submitted proposals on this issue are hopeful that an early and favorable report upon one of these bills can be made to the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Since this is a new Congress, the committee has voted that the hearings conducted last year be regarded as included in this year's hearings.

(At this point Mr. Pool entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Would you please come forward, sir?

Mr. Mowrer, we are delighted that you could find time to appear before our committee this morning. I know, and a lot of people know, about your background. But I think for the record it might be better for me to state it than for you.

Colleagues, Mr. Mowrer has been a newsman, writer, and columnist for 50 years, and that is a long time. He covered World War I for the *Chicago Daily News*. He was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for overseas reporting in 1932. During World War II, he was Deputy Director of the Office of War Information. He has been a radio commentator as well as a columnist on foreign affairs. A trustee of Freedom House, Mr. Mowrer is also the author of 10 books on international and foreign affairs, including: *An End to Make Believe* in 1961, *A Good Time to be Alive* in 1960, and *Challenge and Decision* in 1950. Your service to your profession and to the country is well recognized and stretches out for many years, and I am glad to make these remarks a part of the record. We are very much interested in having your views on the bills we have pending before us this morning, sir. You may proceed.

#### STATEMENT OF EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Mr. MOWRER. I do not have to introduce myself, Mr. Chairman?

For the record, my name is Edgar Ansel Mowrer. I am a syndicated columnist on world affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. If you wish to expand on your formal education and further experience you are welcome.

Mr. MOWRER. For 26 years a foreign correspondent, chiefly in Europe, but in most parts of the world. I have come here to testify in favor of the bill to create a Freedom Academy because I consider that it may help us to deal with the main problem of our time.

Looking back over the many years, I am terribly struck with the parallelism between the behavior of Europe in the 1930's, democratic Europe, and our behavior since 1945.

It is true that there have been some notable differences. Europe, Britain, and France neglected their defenses, while at the same time they were trying to persuade themselves that Hitler, Mussolini, and their cohorts did not mean business. The result was a catastrophe of which all the details are known.

The CHAIRMAN. I think at this point I should ask you two or three questions that will further demonstrate your experience.

Did your experience overseas include firsthand contact with Communists?

Mr. MOWRER. Very decidedly so. As a foreign correspondent of neutral America, it was the duty of a good one to get in contact with people of every political party. Thus, in Germany, where I spent a long time, I knew everybody from Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia to Mr. Neumann, the head of the Berlin Communists.

In Paris I knew Mr. Cachin, who was the second leader, and some minor figures. In England I knew Claude Coburn, who was at that time publishing a Communist weekly. With all of these people I had as friendly relations as one could ever have had with the Communists, which is not saying too much, because there is always an element in which their public affairs, you might say, their convictions, predominate over their personal relationships.

The CHAIRMAN. It is my information that at one time, at least, you wouldn't have been in line to win a popularity contest, so I ask you: Were you not at one time simultaneously denied entry to the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy?

Mr. MOWRER. That is true. At one time I had the honor, doubtful honor, whichever you choose to call it, of having been refused re-entrance into the Soviet Union, into Nazi Germany from which I was literally expelled, and into Fascist Italy where I had made the march on Rome with Mussolini and then quarreled with him because of his intolerable and arrogant and imperialistic behavior.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Nazi Minister of Propaganda Dr. Goebbels ever express an interest, in one fashion or another, in you?

Mr. MOWRER. Yes, sir. In September 1939 another correspondent, H. R. Knickerbocker, now dead, and I filed a story in which we gave the world the full details on the amounts of money that the Nazi leaders had more or less illegally stashed overseas for their personal use, just in case. This provoked from my former acquaintance, Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, a vicious attack on the radio, which he made personally, declaring that he would give a division of German troops to lay hands on those dirty American so-and-so's, Knickerbocker and Mowrer. Personally I never felt prouder.

The CHAIRMAN. I compliment you. Now will you proceed in your own way to express why you favor these bills and relate to us your further experiences, if you will.

Mr. MOWRER. In the course of my experience with Communists and other people, I became aware of how hard it was for Americans who have never lived under a totalitarian regime to understand the workings, and not only the physical workings, but the mentality and the infinite cheating and dissimulation which was part of the Nazi as well as the Communist idea of spreading their rule.

For instance, when I went to Russia in 1936 those two English Socialists, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, had just published a book on the Soviet Union in very flattering terms which was the laughingstock of the foreign correspondents in Moscow. They explained how, without any adequate preparation, the two Webbs had come to Moscow, listened to what the Russian Communists told them, written it all down like truth, and produced a book. And the common comment among the men overseas was, "This is just lovely, only there isn't a word of it that corresponds with Soviet action," which is the only thing that counts.

I was in Moscow in November–December 1936, attending the ratification of the new Soviet constitution, allegedly the most democratic in the world. It was indeed a wonderful document, setting out many civil rights, except for two or three provisos which most of the foreigners overlooked. One was that the rule of the Communist Party should never be in any way upset or diminished, and the other was that none of this had any relation to political crimes.

Since almost anything in Russia was defined as a political crime, this meant that of course most of the constitution was undone by these two little provisos, and this escaped tourists.

This seems to have escaped even one former American Ambassador in Moscow, Joe Davies. You will remember, perhaps, that during the war, in 1943, there was presented here in Washington a film by Mr. Joe Davies called *Mission to Moscow*, which was based on his book and which gave such a caricature, if you will excuse me, of the real conditions in the Soviet Union that a group of us retired to the nearest cafe to laugh it off.

What I am driving at, Mr. Chairman, is that it seems to me that we are lacking in the understanding of the basics of this international power conspiracy—ideology, pseudoreligion, whatever you wish to call it—which threatens us at many points over the globe.

There again it reminds me of a time when a very distinguished Frenchman asked me to come to Paris and tell him what Hitler was going to do. I did my best, after 10 years' acquaintance with the Fuehrer. I thought I knew about it. When it was all over, he looked at me and said, "I just don't believe a word of it. Hitler is a man like everybody else."

For many years we did the best we could to believe that Stalin was a man like anybody else, and if so, God help everybody else. And we have since tried to believe that it is possible for a Communist regime to change radically without ceasing to be Communist.

Therefore, because we want peace we are continually grasping at straws, hoping. Surely, if our wartime President, FDR—in many ways, in my opinion, a great President—had really done his homework thoroughly or had the proper advisers about him during the war, he would not have thought that he could manage Stalin. If the American administration at that time had rubbed their noses a little more thoroughly into the Communist thing—and I am not blaming any one person, for this was a general frame of mind, as you will remember—they would not have believed that, because the Russians had signed the Yalta Treaty agreeing to set up democratic regimes in all the east European countries, they had the slightest intention of abiding by it. For a "democratic" regime is part of what is known as Aesopian language in Communist parlance, which means, well, just as Mr. Goering used to say, "I determine who is a Jew," the Kremlin determines what is a democratic regime. These were very grave errors in my opinion. I think that our doing nothing about communism in China was a very grave error. I do not say that we could have prevented the taking over of China by communism. I don't know.

I do know that we made no serious effort and I do know, if you will permit me to quote a man without mentioning his name, that one of the very senior officials in the State Department had dinner at my house, along with Congressman Walter Judd, and discussed hotly



whether or not Red China could ever be a danger to the United States, and the meeting broke up when the State Department official said, "Congressman, I don't believe that anything can happen in the Far East in the next 50 years that can seriously damage the interests of the United States."

I think that we have to realize—that is what I am trying to say with all these details—that most Americans still do not know very much about a totalitarian regime or about communism; that they are inclined to believe any sign that they are transforming themselves or thawing or anything of the kind; and that, therefore, we have been led into some difficulties such as the one in Laos, which we would not be in had it been understood that any sort of coalition government with Communists was inevitably, in their eyes, a pretext for a take-over. They have been trying to take over ever since; as far as they could without openly going into all-out war, and it is only our recent military counteractions that, in my opinion, have prevented them from doing it.

My friends in the State Department, and I am happy to say I still have a good many, counter with this: That it is impossible for a citizen or Congressman to know the situation, what should be done about it, understand it, unless he is in possession of all the facts.

By "all the facts," they mean the latest reports from all over the world. This I consider a total mistake, for wasn't Chamberlain, wasn't Daladier, in possession of all the facts, that is to say, the day-to-day facts that had been provided by the admirable British and French overseas services? Of course, to be sure, as I note one of my predecessors last February testified here, they admitted later that they had never read *Mein Kampf*. To assume that you could understand the Nazi regime in Germany or Adolf Hitler himself or estimate what he was going to do without having read *Mein Kampf* was a terrible and tragic error. It is my belief that there should be an independent, Government-supported but essentially independent, non-partisan, nonparty Freedom Academy which offers to a group an intensive course, not only necessarily on communism, but on all the enemies of American freedom.

I can also see from reading the newspapers and listening to my daughter's friends, meeting students, that there is even a great lack in our country of the essential implications of American freedom. So it seems to me that any authoritative body which would give an intensive course, what and why freedom, who and what is threatening freedom, how they are doing it, what are the essences of these various things that are threatening our freedom, if this had, as it should have, high-power, opinion-making, influential citizens, including—why not?—some foreigners, it could bring about a change and not come into any conflict with the State Department, for surely the last thing such an academy would have the nerve to try to do is to set a policy.

(At this point Mr. Senner entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad you say that and I want you to develop that point. In other words, as I understand it, and I am not an author, the authors of these bills don't envisage the Freedom Academy or Freedom Commission as making foreign policy or speaking for

our Government vis-a-vis our relations with other governments. You agreed with that?

Mr. MOWRER. It ought not to be done and would not be done.

I do not think that any Freedom Academy or any body which is a study body should have, in any way, that power. Certainly they may try to influence foreign policy as citizens. The students who come out of it may have learned something which enables them to think that this or that change could well be made in the policy.

Then they should publish, where they can, reports and if this Academy had sufficient stature I am quite certain that what they said would ripple out through the country. The people would begin to give credence to what they said. Think only of the foreign element. Look at the new rulers of many of the African and Asian states. They are fine people. They are patriots. Many of them have taken great dangers and run the risk of death to make their countries independent, but so far as the world about them is concerned, they are babies. It is not their fault. They have had no opportunity to have any experience and no occasion to study the matter thoroughly.

Therefore, many of them are patsies or pushovers for Communist agitators. We learn now that the Government of Burundi, after imagining for a long time that Red China was really their great friend, found that Red China had been involved in a conspiracy to get rid of their government; that was all.

So they have now put out the Red Chinese. Had the three or four, or whoever, in Burundi had training at the Freedom Academy they never would have invited the Red Chinese in.

As an old foreign correspondent, I submit there is no real substitute for the personal experience of a foreign country. Since policy-makers cannot possibly have lived in all foreign countries, the best they can do is call upon people who have.

I furthermore submit that in the daily routine of the State Department, all too few officials have the opportunity and the quiet to go away, let us say, and immerse themselves for 6 months—wherever, it doesn't matter—in the Communist conspiracy.

They haven't the opportunity. Mr. Rusk gets to his office and I am presuming he finds a stack of reports on his desk. By the time Mr. Rusk has done the stack he calls in the boys from here, there, and everywhere and he sends it around. This is no criticism.

This is true of all foreign offices in the world. They need a Freedom Academy on which they could draw, which would argue with them if they cared to have it. There also ought to be, I would say, a part of the Freedom Academy consisting of some of the faculty who might be used, if the President or the State Department cared to, as consultants. Their opinions would be asked in view of what they would learn, but that would have to be outside the Academy itself.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, I am convinced that the situation is not as good as many of my colleagues and most of the officials either think or simply say that it is.

To me the test of whether we are doing well in the war against communism is the map. I remember when communism was restricted to Russia and doing very badly there. It has now spread over a billion people with no end in sight. I point out furthermore that, with the dubious exception of Guatemala which was not entirely Communist,

in no case has the free world recovered from the Communists what they had previously taken from us.

In other words, I believe President Kennedy said they go on the theory that "What is mine is mine, and what's yours will be mine, or is part mine."

Even in Vietnam today when we discuss a compromise—a compromise today cannot be successful for one simple reason: The North Vietnamese are trying to communize South Vietnam; the South Vietnamese are not seriously trying, nor are we, to anticommunize North Vietnam. If both were doing this, then a compromise could be to let North Vietnam remain Communist but South Vietnam non-Communist. But no, the whole talk is the compromise between us, who want only a free and independent and non-Communist Vietnam, and the Communists who want a Communist Vietnam.

Mr. POOL. May I interrupt right at this point? We had hearings last year, and we had one witness who came here and explained to us how the Communists work in Vietnam. They have a regional office, and their terror squads fan out from their regional office into these villages and terrorize the people.

Mr. MOWRER. That is right.

Mr. POOL. Americans have a responsibility not to engage in those practices. The Communists have no inhibitions against things like that. I would like to have your comment on what we are up against in formulating our tack in this field.

Mr. MOWRER. The two greatest experts in Washington on this, with whom I am personally acquainted, are Allen Dulles and General Edward Lansdale. I asked Allen Dulles once when we were sitting together at dinner why it was that the Communists were able to do in South Vietnam what we couldn't seem to do in North Vietnam, and he said, "The answer is quite simple: Terror."

If we would resign ourselves to go into North Vietnam and murder all the people who didn't immediately offer to assist us, perhaps it would be counterbalanced, but I trust that we don't feel that we have to do anything of the kind.

The other expert on this subject is, as I say, General Lansdale, U.S. Air Force, retired, and why is he an expert? During the years in which the great Magsaysay, of whom I was proud to be a friend, in the Philippines was fighting the Communist Huks he was assisted and helped in every way by Lansdale as, I believe, first a major and then a colonel.

Lansdale and Magsaysay worked out the successful tactics, the hamlet tactics and so on, which eventually suppressed the Huks or reduced them to very small potatoes, though I hear they are coming up again now.

Both of those people agreed that meeting this thing is a very special problem; that Mao really had something when he worked out this idea of using soldiers, disguised as civilians, and infiltrating them into the peasants as fish in water, and so on. And, therefore, I would say that there are only two ways of dealing with this, and perhaps they should be combined, if we are determined we are going to have a free and independent South Vietnam.

One is a further expansion of the Magsaysay-Lansdale tactics, which I believe the British used with great success in Malaysia. The other

would be what we are doing now, trying to make any further subversion from the outside, any supplying of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam, just too painful to be contemplated.

Mr. POOL. We have no schools in our Government to teach these theories. Is that correct?

Mr. MOWRER. I don't quite understand.

Mr. POOL. We don't have courses in these tactics.

Mr. MOWRER. Insofar as it is not a purely military problem, we should certainly make the Americans familiar with what the Communists do with the Mao Tse-tung tactics. I was myself, as I say, in the Philippines awhile when this was going on. Our people, for instance, continually report when, by mischance, one of our planes bombs some of our people or some innocent villagers, and it is lamentable. On the other hand, the fact that the Communists never go into a village for the first time without ruthlessly murdering any people they find who are not willing to go along with them is not stressed. It should be made clear what we are up against.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman. Mr. Mowrer, I am sorry, I wasn't here to hear all of your testimony. I am very interested in the statements that you have made.

However, as I understand history, the downfall of Hitler and of his attempted conquest of Russia came about because of the terror and the cruel treatment imposed by the German troops on the Russians. This also is supposedly true, by historians' statements, with regard to Napoleon's invasion of Russia. What I can't reconcile in my mind is how can the Viet Cong commit their terror and inhuman treatment and still be able to win the support from the South Vietnamese.

Mr. MOWRER. Mr. Congressman, in my opinion as a fellow who has been writing on foreign affairs for 50 years, who has specialized a good deal on studying communism in various parts of the world, this is an example of how hard it is for a man to understand Communist tactics unless he digs into them. There are I can't tell you how many Communist schools throughout Russia and in China today where especially bright people are indoctrinated, are taught, how to move into a village of generally ignorant peasants with the carrot, with the great reform, the great, wonderful things that are going to happen "if you will only support us against these horrible Fascists and American imperialists," and so on and so on.

Look what they are doing today, as I read in the papers, on the American campuses. There is apparently a small new flareup of interest in communism as a viable philosophy among many hundreds and hundreds of students. If these students can be induced by sly Communist propaganda or, if you like, for the sheer hell of it—I don't know which—to agree that this is a viable form and desirable form of philosophy, then it ought to be easier with these peasants.

At the same time they also set up immediately organizations which look after the peasants. Let us make no mistake about that.

I would like to jump from Vietnam to Italy now because today, in my opinion, the most remarkable example of Communist influence in any country that is not under Communist rule is in Italy. A few years ago I was sent abroad by the *Reader's Digest* to try to figure out and write on how it was done, and I went into the matter very carefully.

I was 8 years a correspondent in Italy and speak the language and so does my wife, and we would go into Communist villages and, while I would talk with the mayor, and so on, she would go into the wives' houses and discuss this matter and kiss the babies and what not.

They have set up the most elaborate, slick, and fallacious system of propaganda that I have ever known. Everything is interpreted to mean something that it isn't.

Secondly, in Italy the Communists have what I would call a super-Tammany political organization. There are whole areas of Italy around Ferrara in the north—you know where it is—around Ferrara and Bologna, where the Communists dominate all the municipalities and they look after the boys and girls. Did you, by any chance, years ago read a very interesting book called *The Little World of Don Camillo*? If not, it is amusing as well as enlightening reading.

Mr. SENNER. Then I take your answer to be that where terror and brutality are utilized by the Communists to accomplish these objectives, their philosophy of also taking care of people apparently has given an added something that has been lacking in the Nazi and Fascist movements. Is this correct?

Mr. MOWRER. I think it is correct, if you stress the fact that they are training thousands and thousands of propagandists every year. Suzanne Labin, that French anti-Communist writer, in her last book gives figures that she has painfully acquired on the billions that the two big Communist countries, plus the East European countries, are giving to training experts to delude people into believing that communism is a free, wonderful, utopian society. We have practiced what could be called honest propaganda for the great part. The Voice of America, I believe, is continually in discussion with some Congressman as to whether or not they should broadcast propaganda or the straight facts.

The Communists have no scruples about that. I read their monitored broadcast reports which are sent out. They are very educational, and what do they teach me at least? That on the same day Radio Moscow and Radio Peiping and Czechoslovakia, and so on, will tell different stories to different countries—make the punishment fit the crime. This is a very powerful weapon and it is working. There are half a dozen countries on earth today where a Communist takeover could not be excluded, I am sorry to say, in my opinion.

Now you will get back: "Is this business in Vietnam, and so on, worth a war, worth killing Americans?"

And there you get to the appreciation of what you think the Communists will do once they have taken it over. If you agree with one of my colleagues writing in *Newsweek* that just because we lose South Vietnam doesn't mean we are going to lose anything else, then you will say, "Well, then, maybe it isn't worth the sacrifice. They aren't supporting us too well," all the known arguments.

If you agree with me that it is impossible for militant communism to cease trying to expand without being Communist, then you would say the question is whether you make the stand for keeps here. Moreover—I may shock some of you—I am totally convinced that sooner or later we will not only have to stop the leaks in containment—and it has been leaking steadily since it was proclaimed by my friend George Kennan in 1947 and is still leaking around in various spots—

we will not only have to make containment watertight, but we will have to go to the counteroffensives. It is necessary, if communism is to wither away, that it be unsuccessful.

Nobody ever deserts, I believe, a political movement, even in the United States, when it is winning. There is nothing like success. We have not been successful. Our successes have been holding a line.

Mr. SENNER. In following your colloquy here, and I know it is against your conscience and mine, is there a possibility that we could use more terror and force, play the part of Big Brother and use the ingenuity and initiative of man to follow the capitalistic free enterprise system?

Mr. MOWRER. I would think that it depends on the seriousness of the danger. Nobody deplored more than I did the bombing of open German cities during World War II because, having been in Germany, I knew that there were lots of anti-Nazis there who were friends of ours, or who would liked to have been, and whom we were killing ruthlessly. And if you saw Germany just after the war, you must admit that, together with the British, we did a job. I went back to Berlin, a town where I had spent 10 years, and wandered around in a daze. I didn't know where I was. It was gone.

Now, why did we have to do that? Because the Germans started this. They did it first to Warsaw. Then they did it to Coventry. They broke the Dutch morale in 5 days in 1940, largely by bombing—the snuffing out of Rotterdam. If the thing gets serious enough, if the Chinese come into this, I would have no reluctance whatever to using what countermeasures the general staff decides are necessary. I would do it with a sinking heart, but a feeling that it has to be done.

I frequently argue with those people who tell me, "Ah, ah, but we must not use the same things." I ask them, "Did you approve or disapprove of our counterbombardment of German cities?" "Ah," they say, "that was different. Hitler was a danger."

Communism is something like that, and there we come to the root of it and back to the Freedom Academy. I believe the United States is in a bigger danger than we were on the night of Pearl Harbor. It is not the same danger. The night of Pearl Harbor I spent a sleepless night, like many of us who had been worrying over this thing, and about dawn turned over and went off with the feeling that we could beat the Japs.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Mowrer, this is a graver danger, a greater danger, which we face than was Pearl Harbor.

Mr. MOWRER. We are fighting back, but we are not fighting back effectively against communism because we are running what they call a carrot-and-stick policy and what I call schizophrenia, a divided mental approach to things—it is a question how long we can go on snuggling up to Moscow, offering cooperation in important places like outer space to Moscow, and at the same time oppose Moscow successfully.

A totalitarian government can do that because its friendship is unreal, but Americans are friendly people and when we are friends with Moscow it is very difficult to tell them we don't really believe it.

We are just trying, just a hope. That is why, in my opinion, the country is not facing up to the Communist menace and why I believe that a Freedom Academy would be helpful in the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, last year a State Department witness in opposition to the adoption of this bill stressed the danger of indoctrination. That word was used by him throughout his testimony.

In other words, the use of this Freedom Academy would result in, or would aid or abet or lead to, indoctrination, and that was the theme of opposition last year from the witness of the State Department.

Would you care to comment on that? Then I will tell you about what they say this year.

Mr. MOWRER. Don't you think there has to be an element of indoctrination to maintain any sort of civilization? Don't children have to be taught that stealing and murder and rape are wrong? That is indoctrination, Mr. Congressman. I have no hesitancy in indoctrinating any American with the fact that a free society is superior to a totalitarian or slave society.

If they are afraid of that kind of indoctrination, I should feel very bad about it indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. This year, since this is a new Congress and new bills had to be introduced, we did the usual and asked for a fresh expression of views on the part of the State Department. We have the letter here. It has been offered in evidence, but if you don't mind I would point out the points they make and get your views on three or four points for the record.

Here is what they say this year. They say:

Expertise and operational experience are as important in the formulation of policy as they are in its execution. For this reason, the Department seriously questions whether comprehensive and realistic plans for dealing with the infinitely complex problems of U.S. Foreign Affairs can be developed by a new, separate government agency, especially one without operational responsibilities.

If you find that passage I wish you would comment upon it from the copy of the letter you have before you.

Mr. MOWRER. What would you like me to comment on?

The CHAIRMAN. On that particular paragraph that is before you there, that "expertise and operational experience."

Mr. MOWRER. It is not for an old foreign correspondent to say that experience and expertise are not necessary in the formulation of policy. Of course they are, and, as I say, if all our leading citizens could have had some experience, then there might be no need to do this.

If they would all go and live a year in Russia or live a year in Red China, they would not have to do this. It seems to me, as I say, this would be a backing and not a rival to what the State Department is doing and to our diplomatic schools and so on, for the schools, the diplomatic academies, teach diplomacy as such. They cannot give in 6 months—I have forgotten how many months. Does anybody know how long these young men study in these special schools before they enter our Foreign Service? I think it is less than a year; some months.

It is impossible to understand the various systems all over the world in this time. Now, he says he—

questions whether comprehensive and realistic plans for dealing with the infinitely complex problems of U.S. Foreign Affairs can be developed by a new, separate government agency, especially one without operational responsibilities.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point. They seem to say that without day-to-day operational responsibilities the Freedom Academy couldn't be of a great help.

Mr. MOWRER. Has anybody proposed, as I say, that a Freedom Academy, its president or its faculty, should attempt the formulation of policy or the execution of policy?

The CHAIRMAN. But they say that without day-to-day operational responsibilities, which the Academy would not have, the Academy cannot perform a useful function. That is the point. I disagree with that.

Mr. MOWRER. If that were true, then we could never have an army because the President decides the policy that the United States is at war, but except in a special case where a move might be strongly political, he is better off to leave the conduct of the war itself to the Joint Chiefs. The Joint Chiefs are told what the aim of the Government is and are told, "Here you are. Go and do it the best way."

It wouldn't occur to me, as one who has worked in I can't tell you how many foreign countries, who believes the professional diplomats are almost always better than amateur diplomats, to say that operationally the Freedom Academy should have anything to say at all, but it should be able to furnish a body of opinion, studies, and have people throughout the other branches of the Government as students.

Today they complain that so many different branches of the Government are getting into foreign political problems. I believe there is a bill before the Senate now that has something to do with foreign aid, but this is largely not a technical problem, whether or not we give foreign aid. It is a political problem. This is not exactly comparable, but this is something which a Freedom Academy could help on.

For instance, are we giving foreign aid as a weapon in the cold war—we are certainly giving military aid—or are we giving it as pure charity, or are we giving it in a half-and-half way, believing that raising standards will necessarily help us since—what is it?—a fat Communist is less dangerous than a lean Communist? I think, if I may say so in this particular case without seeming critical, that we cannot forget too soon that the State Department has lavished foreign aid upon a man called Nasser of the United Arab Republic, upon another one called Sukarno, that we gave a great deal of help to the Poles, hoping that they would break away and form another Tito.

None of these has come about. There is being created throughout Africa and Asia a number of regimes with a partially tribal existence, one-party states, that are almost indistinguishable from Nazi-Fascist philosophy. They are totalitarian.

Certainly one of the things we need is not just comment from friendly liberal professors who say, "Well, it doesn't matter whether Ghana has any democracy or not. They will."

Well, will they? There is no evidence that they will unless you are talking in terms of decades, centuries, and so on.

Therefore, I would certainly say that it should be set up in the bill and in the Freedom Academy that I would like to see you create that we should not make policy or attempt to.

The CHAIRMAN. They make the point in this letter that the Freedom Commission bills propose that the executive branch on a large



scale undertake the mobilization of private citizens, domestic and foreign, to fight the cold war and also the systematic orientation of our citizens against communism.

Then the letter makes this statement :

While it is very useful in certain circumstances to train private U.S. citizens and foreign nationals, our primary need—and hence our first priority—is to improve in all possible ways the training of government personnel involved in the day-to-day operation of our foreign affairs.

So they say that while it might be all right in certain circumstances to give private citizens and foreign nationals thorough grounding in communism, the great need is the training of Government personnel involved in foreign affairs operations. The State Department doesn't seem very enthusiastic about having anyone train except Government personnel. What are your comments on that statement?

Mr. MOWRER. Yes. I think in the first place that most bureaucrats, if you will pardon the expression, would consider it very nice if the citizens would take their word for most things without controversy. I do not think that that is compatible with our system of Government, nor do I think that you can win a cold war without the support of an overwhelming majority of our citizens, and that support should not be merely passive, "papa knows best," but it should be an active support.

The cold war is in my opinion a real war and, as I said before, could be more dangerous than a fighting war, because in a fighting war you have to stand up and live or die, but the cold war can go by default, can go by little concessions; therefore, the more need for having enlightened citizens with the right that Americans maintain for themselves, and I hope forever will, criticize any policy they don't like, to suggest alternative policies in any field.

Believe me, as one who has written, as I say, for 50 years on this and spent more than 27 years abroad in various countries, the belief that the diplomat abroad knows more about the country than the foreign correspondent is great error. In most countries I would rather go to the foreign correspondents to find out what is going on than I would to the U.S. diplomats, for the correspondents are not handicapped in getting around by protocol and all the people they must talk to and all that kind of thing.

In the second place, as I tried to point out, we have repeatedly been wrong through too much reliance upon day-to-day operators who are not in the position to learn what is necessary to make these decisions.

The State Department recognizes this. They not only have operatives and embassies and everything, but they have a planning bureau. I was delighted when they brought in a planning bureau, but the Freedom Academy is not supposed to do that in my opinion.

(At this point Mr. Senner left the hearing room.)

Mr. Congressman, it comes down to this. President Johnson has asked for a consensus. I hope he gets it, but does he want a consensus of sheep, or does he want a consensus of convinced people who have had access to the facts and who have thought out the conclusions and agree with him?

The Freedom Academy would help provide the kind of people enlightened in foreign affairs. May I say one thing more? Having specialized most of my life on foreign affairs I am still appalled by the

indifference and apathy throughout the great American people to foreign issues except when they rise to the level of a crisis, when there is nothing to do but fight or die.

We cannot maintain our position in the current world until enough Americans get the understanding of foreign political issues, get the same understanding of conflicting policies and regimes that they bring to domestic affairs.

All of you, as elected people, realize that you must never count on the stupidity or ignorance of your opponents in local matters, that they are pretty smart cookies and they know pretty well what is going on in Pikesville or Pittsburgh. We have to create enough people who will know and follow moves.

I play chess. I am not a chess champion, but I follow championship chess games with some understanding and great enthusiasm, because I have played enough to understand the moves and see what it is all about. We have to create a knowing public.

One last word, if you can let me have it. As I understand from reading Mr. Possony's testimony, in which I thought he outlined extremely well most of the things which the Freedom Academy should do, and there is no need for me to repeat this, the Freedom Academy would also invite Government officials from other branches which have had no opportunity to learn about these things, financial people, for example, for our financial and our political problems are tied up so closely in this that nobody can tear them apart.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you visualize the possibility, and maybe the desirability, too, that perhaps administrative assistants of Members of Congress could attend this institute?

Mr. MOWRER. Mr. Congressman, if I were an elected representative of the American people who had spent my life in domestic affairs and was told that I could spend 3 months when Congress was perhaps not in session by attending lectures on certain subjects in a Freedom Academy, I certainly would do it right off.

The CHAIRMAN. Finally, the State Department makes this point. It says that the bills raise the problem of Federal control inasmuch as they authorize the Freedom Commission to prepare, make, and publish textbooks, training films, and other materials for high school, college, and community level instructions, and to distribute this material, and so on. Then they say:

The Department doubts the value of any effort to centralize and standardize the dissemination of information in such areas. This would appear to be a marked departure from the traditional role of the Federal Government in the field of political education.

I would like you to comment on that. They are touching a sensitive American concept—of the Federal Government not controlling schools and colleges, and so on, that we all agree with, but then they use this argument in opposition to this institute. Do you see any validity to that objection on their part?

Mr. MOWRER. Do you think that the opposition is based on the fact that this would be in any way a Government institution?

The CHAIRMAN. They raise the issue that, since the institute could publish books and so on, the dissemination of that information to the citizenry would indoctrinate or would lead to Federal control of

teaching, inasmuch as these publications would find their way into colleges and high schools.

Mr. MOWRER. Point of order. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOWRER. Is it not true that the Federal Government supports Howard University?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. MOWRER. Certainly. I think the greater part of the money is given by the Federal Government. Yet, so far as I know—and I have a friend who is a professor there—the Government has never attempted to tell Howard University what it was to do, nor has it said that the publications by professors in Howard University were documents of the U.S. Government, or let me give you a better one perhaps—

The CHAIRMAN. They may draw a distinction between Howard University and a congressionally created Commission.

Mr. MOWRER. If the Government is not in education in Howard University, it need not be in education in the Freedom Academy. Let me give you another example which is manifest. Surely, politically the British are a broadly democratic people and they certainly shoot off their mouth with the greatest freedom about the government and everything else.

Yet the BBC, though entirely supported by government money, is absolutely independent of government pressures. In fact, the director of the BBC is now in dutch with several of the leading politicians for allowing certain people to make statements, and he has made it perfectly clear to the government that this was the basis on which the BBC was set up and once they entrusted him with running it he was going to run it.

There is a problem, of course, that there could be an encroachment over there, but there can be an encroachment by any government over anything else. Some people think there is too much encroachment in the United States today and some think not enough.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the answer might be in the quality of the personnel who run this institution?

Mr. MOWRER. I would think that a study of the organization and independence of the BBC would be fruitful in this matter. Since I haven't got the full details I don't want to say any more, but I do not think that this need encroach in the slightest on freedom of education.

The CHAIRMAN. Or lead to Federal control?

Mr. MOWRER. Certainly not. Here we spoke of indoctrination. All my life I have been considered more or less of a maverick who has sometimes gotten himself into trouble by shooting off his mouth too soon where he shouldn't, and therefore I would be the last person to say that at the Freedom Academy they should inculcate, indoctrinate, teach a single attitude toward communism or anything else.

For instance, I don't object to having Communists lecture at our universities, provided they are labeled Communists and it is perfectly clear that they represent the Soviet Union or China or the Trotskyites or the monkey businesses instead of representing the United States, for I reiterate that it is impossible to be a good Communist and an American patriot at the same time.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. The bells have sounded over in the House for a quorum call and I have to leave, but I want to take this opportunity to thank you, sir, for appearing before the committee. I think you have made an outstanding statement and you have made very many penetrating comments upon the problems confronting our country in this field, and you made an excellent witness.

I do want to thank you very much for your appearance. Since you are here—you obviously have a profound knowledge of our problems in the cold war—I would like you to comment, if you will, upon the so-called Chinese-Soviet split. I would like to have your analysis of the split.

Mr. MOWRER. This is my personal view?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

Mr. MOWRER. I think that it is a mixture of the theological disputes of the Middle Ages and the power disputes of national states of all times and the personal rivalries of people who, the higher they get, the touchier they become.

I think it is all combined. I do not think it is fraud because, in my own estimate, it started not where some of the people say, but when the Soviet Union stopped helping Red China make nuclear weapons—I believe the date was 1958—and when the Chinese got nasty about it they withdrew all the Soviet technicians from all over. Stalin was not a man to tolerate a rival. In fact, to one who was in Moscow in 1936 when Stalin was busy liquidating all the former Communists, including his own closest buddies, it was perfectly obvious that there was no place not only in the Communist world, but in Russia itself, for anybody but the great Stalin.

Mao considers that he, practically alone among Communist people, though helped by wartime conditions, managed to establish an independent Communist country, and he more or less deferred to Stalin. I do not consider, however—I am almost convinced—that the split will ever go to an open break, at least under present circumstances, and I will tell you why.

In 1937 and 1938 when I was in an open-and-closed conspiracy against Adolf Hitler, I found an ally in the British Foreign Office, Sir Robert Van Sittart, the permanent Secretary General, who was doing his level best to convince the conservative government that Hitler meant business. He never succeeded. But we became very close allies, so much so that he used to let me see the British reports so I could write better stuff about what was going on in Germany, where I couldn't go, but we always differed on one point.

Van Sittart said, "Mussolini and the Italians don't like the Germans. We can divide the Italians from the Germans."

And, in my opinion, it was not so much Sir Samuel Hoare, but the advice that Sir Samuel got from his first assistant, Sir Robert Van Sittart, that brought the so-called Hoare-Laval plan to settle the trouble in Ethiopia by a compromise, the British hoping somehow or other, by making these compromises, that they would induce the Italians not to form what became the Rome-Berlin Axis or, even when it was formed, to break it.

I always argued against this, largely on the basis of personal knowledge of both Hitler and Mussolini, but also on the following thesis.

Hitler was determined to create the great new Third Reich, 400 million strong, by absorbing East Europe and the Russian Ukraine. Mussolini was determined to create the *Empero Romano*, the new Roman Empire, stretching God-knows-where, around the Mediterranean. Both of them had based their whole political life on the realization of these things. Hitler's only justification for being there was to create this monstrously great new German state.

Mussolini's only justification was that his rivals were pacifists, they didn't realize it took Roman grandeur, and so on. He had to make a new *Empero Romano*. It would seem to me perfectly obvious that neither one could succeed without the help, or against the opposition, of the other, and therefore I predicted to Van Sittart regularly that they would not come apart until perhaps they had taken all they wanted and it came to dividing the swags. Then, of course, there is opportunity for any amount of disputes.

At the present time, the Soviet actions, as distinct from the Soviet talk, show a determination to spread communism by subversion and propaganda wherever possible. I don't have to tell you people that there are a dozen countries where there has been found evidence of direct Soviet help, Cuba and the rest of them.

The Chinese are determined to spread communism throughout Asia, preferably ahead of the Soviets and so on, but neither one of them can succeed if the other one drifts apart or opposes it.

Therefore, just like two second-storymen engaged in a little job, they may quarrel while they are on the ladder, but they are not going to fight each other or come apart, and this is to me so simple that I would think even sophisticated diplomats could understand it.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much.

Mr. POOL. Very well put.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, sir.

We will recess until 10 a.m., tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., Wednesday, March 31, 1965, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, April 1, 1965.)



**HEARINGS RELATING TO H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, AND H.R. 6700, PROVIDING FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY**

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**THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1965**

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

**PUBLIC HEARINGS**

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a.m., in Room 313A, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; and Del Clawson, of California.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord and Clawson.

Committee member also present: Representative Joe R. Pool, of Texas.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director, and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

Mr. ICHORD. The meeting will come to order.

The purpose of the meeting this morning is to continue the hearings on H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, and H.R. 6700, several bills concerning the establishment of the proposed Freedom Academy.

Inasmuch as neither the chairman nor Mr. Ashbrook will be able to attend the hearings this morning, the subcommittee has been changed. I will read for the record the letter of designation of the chairman of the full committee dated April 1, 1965.

APRIL 1, 1965.

Mr. FRANCIS J. MCNAMARA,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities:*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Richard Ichord and Honorable Del Clawson as associate members, and myself as Chairman, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., commencing on or about Thursday, April 1, 1965, and at such other time or times thereafter and at such place or places as said subcommittee shall determine, on the following bills proposing passage of a "Freedom Commission Act," and any other similar bills

which may be referred to this committee: H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, and H.R. 6700.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this first day of April, 1965.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,  
EDWIN E. WILLIS,

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

The first witness this morning is our colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Florida, Mr. Gurney, who is the author of H.R. 4389.

Mr. Gurney, we are very pleased to have you with us today.

## **STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM FLORIDA**

MR. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, I certainly welcome the opportunity to appear before the committee on behalf of this bill. First of all, let me say that my role here really is to indicate my full-fledged support of this bill rather than to edify the committee about the bill or its contents or the problem it seeks to meet.

I say this because I am well aware of the fact that extensive hearings have been held by this committee in prior years and that you, Mr. Chairman, and other members who have sat on the committee in the past probably know more about the bill and its problem than do I, because this is one of the special areas before this committee—this great problem of fighting communism.

Then, too, of course, the bill has had extensive hearings before appropriate Senate committees.

I do have a little special interest in this legislation which is a bit different from other Members of Congress. Mr. Alan Grant, who hatched the idea of the Freedom Academy, is a constituent of mine. He is a lawyer in Orlando, Florida, the city next to where I live. I have known him ever since I have been in Florida and, as a matter of fact, was a member of his initial group way back in 1950 that undertook to begin some courses of instruction on a voluntary basis on communism in the local high school in Orlando, so I do have a personal interest in this legislation.

Actually the idea, as you know, was born well over a decade and a half ago and was proposed by Mr. Grant to the executive branch of the Government as early as 1954. It met with some favorable reception at that time, and other unfavorable reception, and it was never pushed too hard in those years by the executive department. Later on, of course, it was introduced in the form of authorizing legislation in the House and the Senate in 1959.

Hearings were held in that year and the year after, and in 1960 a Freedom Academy bill actually did pass the Senate overwhelmingly, but was not acted upon by the House.

I think it is worthwhile to note here that the Senate committee in reporting out the bill made this comment: "The committee considers this bill to be one of the most important ever introduced in the Congress," and then amplified that feeling in their report.

Leading Members of Congress have not only introduced the bill both in the House and the Senate, but have supported it, and so have other leading figures in this Nation, both in Government and out of



Government. Many magazine articles and editorials have been written in the leading news media in the country supporting the bill, so it isn't a new idea.

It is considered by a great many people in the Nation, and leading figures, as a very sound idea.

Without, as I say, trying to go into the ramifications of the bill, which I know you are aware of—and the committee hearings in the past are replete with arguments pro and con—I would like to express my feeling here in favor of the bill in this perhaps, overall large sense: That I feel, as well as other Members of Congress, that in the eternal struggle of the so-called cold war between this Nation and the free world and the opposing Communist forces, we are steadily on the losing side.

We make some gains and advances; we score some victories. But it seems to me, overall, that perhaps communism is defeating us in this struggle between our way of life and theirs and that, while we have some weapons that we have used in this fight, such as foreign aid and, let's say, the Peace Corps, and while these weapons have been partially effective, nonetheless, they have not been a complete or a successful weapon in this struggle, in this cold war.

We need new weapons to successfully win this war with communism. While we have magnificent weapons in the military field and superb Armed Forces—certainly we exceed the Communist ability there—I think on almost every front in the realm of ideas, and that is really what we are talking about here in this cold war, we have not used the potential that I think this Nation possesses.

This idea of the Freedom Academy is this: It is to develop a weapon in the idea field in order to fight more successfully this cold war. The Communists, of course, have used ideas very successfully for years. Certainly in any struggle of this sort, which has perhaps a potential for hot war in the future, and right now we are engaged in the war in Vietnam in this struggle, it is far better to resolve the struggle and the outcome, if possible, by ideas than it is by bullets.

Perhaps one of the best illustrations in this field which took place many years ago in history is the old story of the Trojan horse. Instead of storming the walls of the city, the Trojans built this horse and put themselves inside and got the thing wheeled in the city and took the city in this fashion.

Essentially, this is what we are talking about here. We need to develop new ideas so that we can fare more successfully in this battle against communism, and the Freedom Academy is a new kind of weapon.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, what the bill does, of course, is establish an Academy, a school, where people are specially trained in the background and the history of communism and would be taught methods of fighting this psychological war. The bill would establish a school that would be a research center so that we would have a resource in the Nation which would gather material on this whole subject of communism and this cold war. Certainly it would serve as a receptacle like a library for collecting all manner of material on this subject.

We have academies for other things. We have service academies to train our young men to take their places in the various branches of the

armed services. We have many other academies in this country for all kinds of things, which train people specially for one walk of life or another walk of life, and essentially this is all we are talking about here, the establishment of a school to cope with this very special area of fighting the cold war.

I have read the hearings held before this committee and the Senate committee, and the hearings point up the fact that we do not have this kind of a resource in the Nation today, and this is another reason why I think we need this desperately.

So I say, in summing up, that this Nation ought not to be afraid of establishing a Freedom Academy, of passing this legislation to probe this new idea of fighting the cold war which we are ever waging against communism. And I think if we do this we will have a new resource and a weapon in the cold war struggle against communism.

I would like permission to file a further formal statement with the committee, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Without objection that permission will be granted.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Gurney, did you introduce a bill dealing with the subject during the last session of Congress?

Mr. GURNEY. I think I did.

Mr. ICHORD. For the record, is your bill identical with H.R. 2379, introduced by the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Boggs?

Mr. GURNEY. I was talking to Congressman Clawson about this earlier. Actually, Mr. Chairman, I have not compared my bill with others and I can't answer your question.

Mr. ICHORD. I presume that you did have discussions with Mr. Grant on the bill?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. And yours is probably the latest version as proposed by Mr. Grant's committee, and the latest version was incorporated in H.R. 2379 introduced by Mr. Boggs. Thank you very much, Mr. Gurney. We appreciate your contribution to the work of the committee.

Mr. Clawson, any questions?

Mr. CLAWSON. I would just like to ask one.

From my superficial knowledge of these bills to establish a Freedom Academy I have this question: Do you envision the program to be also a counterespionage activity in Communist countries?

Mr. GURNEY. I am sorry?

Mr. CLAWSON. Communist subversion rather than espionage, perhaps try to convert Communists to our side?

Mr. GURNEY. I think the main purpose of the bill, Mr. Clawson, is actually to develop a school to research in this whole area of communism—what it means, its background, its history, its objectives, its methods of fighting—so that we would have a school with library resources and faculty resources which would contain as much information as possible on this subject in this Nation.

That would be one purpose, so that we conduct effective research in this area. The other purpose would be schooling and training students in the school. These students would come from Government certainly, and all levels of Government. They also would come from the private sector of the United States because we need people in our

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 41-43.

schools and from other walks of life who understand more about communism, and they need a place to go to find out about it.

These are the two main reasons for the bill and for the legislation and for the school. It really isn't so much an operational part of the Government as it is a teaching part of the Government.

As far as the operational part is concerned, I think that appropriately lies either in the Armed Forces or the State Department or the CIA or some branch of Government like that.

Interestingly enough, and I was amazed to discover this as I read the testimony that has been taken in previous years, there is an amazing lack of knowledge in this country not only about communism, but there is no central place to get information about communism.

For example, in Florida in recent years our legislature enacted a law which required instruction about communism in our public schools, and our teachers were hard pressed to find a place to go to prepare themselves to teach this subject. There is very interesting testimony—I can't remember whether it was before this committee or before the Senate committee—either last year or the year before by one of the teachers in Florida, who obviously was a very intelligent, capable, dedicated teacher, who deplored the fact that he had no place to turn to, to find adequate source material to teach this subject.

It is amazing in a country with the educational resources that we have. There is another interesting bit of testimony along these same lines that came out—I think it was last year again—where a South American student in this country, obviously very concerned about the advance of communism in his own country, wanted to find a place where he could go to learn specially about communism, its background, its methods, its objectives, so that he, in turn, could go home and carry the message to his country.

He couldn't find any place to go.

Mr. CLAWSON. I have heard statements about what we are going to use this acquired knowledge for and what the purpose is going to be. How do you think this is going to be used and under what circumstances and conditions is it going to be used?

Mr. GURNEY. I would say this would be true, in direct answer to your question: That the knowledge acquired will be used to understand better and to fight more effectively the Communist threat to this Nation and the free world.

Mr. CLAWSON. Thank you.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Gurney.

Mr. GURNEY. Thank you.

(The formal statement submitted by Mr. Gurney follows:)

#### STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM FLORIDA

The idea for a Freedom Academy to combat cold war communism is a decade and a half old.

This committee is well aware of the exhaustive work done by Alan Grant, Jr., of Orlando, Fla., who over these past 15 years has done more to promote this idea than any single American.

It was Mr. Grant who started this work with a small group known as the Orlando Committee for a Freedom Academy. It was Mr. Grant who first caught the attention of the executive branch of Government with his idea in 1954.

I am personally acquainted with Mr. Grant. In fact, I was a part of his group who lectured on communism in the Orlando High School a decade and a half ago.

Since that time, more than a dozen bills to create this Academy to combat cold war communism have been extensively debated, yet none has ever passed both Houses of Congress in the same session.

Sponsors of these bills have included Republicans and Democrats whose political philosophy range over the entire political spectrum.

These include, over the years, Senators Case, Dodd, Douglas, Fong, Goldwater, Hickenlooper, Keating, Lausche, Miller, Mundt, Proxmire, Scott, Smathers, and so on.

In the House they have included, besides myself, Congressman Herlong of my own State of Florida, Congressman Ichord of this committee, Congressmen Boggs, Gubser, Judd, Schweiker, and Taft.

Private support has come from numerous outstanding citizens. To name just two who have appeared before this committee: Dr. Stefan T. Possony, director of International Political Studies at the Hoover Institution in Stanford, Calif., and Dr. William Kintner, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania.

The first legislation on this subject was introduced in Congress in 1959. In 1960, the Senate passed a similar bill overwhelmingly, but the legislation never got out of committee on this side.

The report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, adopted by the full Senate Judiciary Committee said, in part:

"The committee considers this bill to be one of the most important ever introduced in the Congress. \* \* \*

The major objective sought by this bill is to establish a research and training institution to cope with the threat of cold war communism.

The research arm would include a complete library, indexing publications on communism and its history.

To impart this knowledge we would gather all the top talent available, our top brainpower on communism and the motives driving it.

We would train our Government personnel, our private citizens, and foreign students.

This idea for a Freedom Academy has received favorable comment from the news media. There have been scores of editorials written over the years urging this "new weapon for democracy," as it was labeled by *Reader's Digest*.

The reasons we desperately need this Freedom Academy are many.

First and foremost, we are losing the cold war with the Communists.

We fight communism on some fronts, already. We have a foreign aid program which is supposed to at least check the spread of communism, if not actually roll back the borders. We have the Peace Corps working for us, too. But these are not enough.

We need to roll out new weapons. Fight fire with fire.

In the armament field, we think nothing of spending millions of dollars on an experimental weapon which may be obsolete before it gets off the drawing board.

We have superb missiles, planes, tanks, guns, and soldiers. We have the best economy in the world.

But the Communists have a huge arsenal of weapons. They have something else to employ. They use ideas, propaganda, to sway millions to their side. Their emphasis on this aspect of the cold war is probably even greater than their stress on their armed forces.

In this century, our Communist adversaries have made a science of revolutionary strategy. They have learned the rules of penetration thoroughly. They have marched ahead in their ambitions, but not without meticulous care and precision.

Our way of life is being severely tested by communism and its cancerous tentacles.

As Dr. Possony has so ably stated, both political parties have been guilty of negligence in meeting the Communist threat; both parties have given lipservice to this menace during election time, but little more.

How do we go about closing the "propaganda gap" which has been widening to our disadvantage?

I strongly feel the Freedom Academy concept is the vehicle to launch our efforts in this field.

As has been brought out in previous testimony and outlined briefly here today, we are doing something in this field, but it is far too little and too fragmented.

The Freedom Academy, a research and training institution, would erase the disjointed efforts in this field and replace them with a cohesive unit, capable of providing in-depth courses about communism.

Objections to this Freedom Academy have been voiced, principally by the State Department. For that matter, the Government has come up with its own proposal to establish a National Academy of Foreign Affairs.

But this would only serve to compound the problem, not solve it. The mere fact the executive branch has recognized a need here and has proposed its own academy bears out the urgency of the situation.

But it seems quite likely the State Department is afraid some of its jurisdiction will be usurped by the Freedom Academy. This is not the case at all. The State Department already has existing training programs for its personnel, and I'm afraid an Academy of Foreign Affairs would serve only as an extension of these schools. That will not meet the problem we are facing. In fact, that is an entirely different problem. The Freedom Academy would not deal with foreign policy, which is State's responsibility, but would be for the sole purpose of understanding Communist cold war tactics and techniques, through its classes and instructors supported by its library.

We cannot fail to try this Freedom Academy idea. If the executive branch doesn't want it, we should make it an arm of Congress. We must make a start in this field, or the Communists are going to continue beating us, and beating us badly.

The Freedom Academy, an information center or university to train our able, talented young people, can be the first step in the right direction.

In closing, let me give the following as an example if I may.

We could take a lesson from Mao Tse-tung, the Red Chinese ruler. He has written the "bible" used in guerrilla warfare. We should study and respect his writings—this man who was successfully fighting Chiang Kai-shek in the jungles 40 years ago—at least respect his writings on tactics to be used, not his principles or his ideology.

We must comprehend his teachings and apply his techniques—fight fire with fire, where possible. If we don't we're lost. We may as well roll over and play dead.

Our dilemma is somewhat akin to that facing the bullfrog, as the story goes.

If thrown into a cauldron of scalding water, he would quickly leap out, thus saving his life. However, when placed in a pail of tepid water which was slowly heated to the boiling point, the bullfrog perished.

Khrushchev said, "We will bury you." Unless we wake up soon, that won't be necessary. We'll bury ourselves in our own complacency.

Unless we get started, the new Kremlin bosses can update Khrushchev's statement to read, "We will not bury you. You will do it for us."

Our very survival as a free nation may well depend on what this committee does in coping with the global threat of communism.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee is honored to have with it this morning a distinguished Member of the other body, Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota. Senator Mundt, it is a great pleasure to have you with us today, sir. I might state for the record that Senator Mundt is a sponsor of Senate bill 1232, a Freedom Academy bill presently pending in the other body.

(At this point, Mr. Clawson left the hearing room.)

Mr. ICHORD. Senator Mundt for several years has been a leading exponent of the Freedom Academy concept, being one of the sponsors of Senate 1869, the first Freedom Academy bill that was introduced in the Senate on April 15, 1959, and I believe passed the body in 1960. It is a great pleasure to have you as a witness, Senator Mundt.

**STATEMENT OF HON. KARL E. MUNDT, U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA**

SENATOR MUNDT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It is a pleasure to be here. I come to you as an alumnus of this committee, where I spent almost 10 happy years, dating back to its original chairman, Martin Dies of Texas, and served through the hectic early days of the committee's career, and I am glad to come back.

You have developed swankier quarters than we had up on the fifth floor of the Old House Office Building when I used to be here, and I suspect that the erudition of the committee has advanced as its surroundings have improved. But in all events, I am delighted to be here for several reasons, and I am happy to be here immediately following Congressman Gurney, of Florida, because I come to talk to you about a concept which I believe had its inception in Florida in the first instance.

As a matter of fact, I first became familiar with the challenge provided in this legislation by studying the legislation introduced by Congressman Herlong. He, and I think Congressman Judd, together, introduced the original version of this that has gone through many evolutionary stages.

It did, as the chairman has said, pass the Senate overwhelmingly in 1960, but unfortunately too late in the session for the House to give it due consideration and deliberation. We now have it before us again. It is before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which is a badly overworked committee, and, while we held extensive hearings last year, we did not have an opportunity to devote sufficient time to mark the bill up and bring it out. We hope to do that this year.

However, I come here to express the hope that this committee and that the House of Representatives in this session will take the initiative and act on your version or a version of the Freedom Academy bill in the first place.

I think we can then get it passed in the Senate without too much difficulty because this is a crying need. I would like to see it originally brought out from this committee because as a longtime defender of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I am aware of the kind of criticism which is leveled against it every time appropriations are required or every time some disenchanted witness decides to throw his barbs at the committee: "Well, this is just an investigating committee. It doesn't serve any legislative purpose. It just wastes a lot of taxpayers' money. What did it ever produce in the way of legislation?"

(At this point Mr. Clawson returned to the hearing room.)

SENATOR MUNDT. We have one great big important feather in our cap as devotees of this committee because the first 17 sections of the Internal Security Act of 1950 were written in this committee. It was known for a while as the Mundt-Nixon bill. It came over and became part of the McCarran bill of the Senate, but there it is, 17 sections of it, written primarily by this committee.

They still are there. They are the law of the land, and it was the first piece of legislation passed by this Congress to deal comprehensively with the Communist situation and to provide the mechanics of

registration and the mechanics of disclosure so important to dealing with that kind of internal menace.

I think you have an opportunity in this legislation to pass a bill which is far more important even than that one was, and that is because I can think of nothing more important than to try to mobilize the expertise of this country into an intelligent and effective contest against the Communists in those areas of the world where we meet them cheek to jowl in nonmilitary competition. There isn't anybody who can deny the fact, and this goes for the people in the State Department also, that we are losing the cold war in most of the places where we meet in that kind of competition, and it is encouraging that the Department of State, which originally looked this over and said, "No, we don't like it," finally said, "We will have a Perkins committee make a study of the problems and they will give us the proper kind of reinforcement so we can say, 'No' convincingly enough so Judd and Herlong and Gurney and Mundt and Douglas and your committee and our committee will get off our necks and quit talking about it."

Well, the Perkins committee made a study and to the embarrassment of the State Department, instead of saying, "Your Foreign Service Institute is doing the job," they said, "The Foreign Service Institute is failing miserably in this area of instruction."

Something new must be added. Something new must be done, and we are living in a dream world if we actually believe that you can continue to send American amateurs into foreign countries to engage in competition with Communist professionals with success, because in this day and age amateurs don't win anything very often in competition with professionals, and the American Baseball League and the standing of our Senators in that outfit pretty well prove that point.

You have to have people who are trained for the job. So I would like to see this committee take the initiative and really put another feather in your war bonnet by coming to grips with the problem and getting this legislation on the floor, where I am sure it will pass, forcing it over to the Senate; and start at this time in the House, because this is the type of thing that to the alltime credit of this committee will strike a real blow against un-American activities all over the world.

I have a prepared statement that I will skip through, but I wanted to say that as a preliminary, because I am proud of the record of this committee. I am proud of the work that you are doing. I am entirely conversant with the kind of abuse you get. I suffered it for 10 years myself. I had the Communists picketing our apartment down at Capitol Towers for the better part of 3 years, as long as the Internal Security Act bore the name of Mundt and Nixon when it was going through the House. When it got over to the Senate, it bore the name of McCarran so the Communist line dispersed, but the 17 sections were there.

Our country, I think we can all admit, has experienced a tremendous decline in international respect since 1943. At the end of World War II, due both to our leadership toward victory and to an accumulation of international prestige built over the decade, this country occupied an enviable stance.

It was liked, admired, and trusted to a degree even by conquered nations, and we had the one great Military Establishment intact in the whole world.

Now what has happened? Why has the world deteriorated? You can't point your finger of blame at any individual or any individual policy. But when that kind of historic demonstration is before us, it seems to me that alert Americans ought to ask themselves why and what can we do about it. We spent \$100 billion in foreign aid in over 100 foreign countries and the dividends continue to bring decreasing results, and looking at the picture as a whole we are disappointed at what was achieved.

This country today is being popularly blamed by much of the politically conscious population of the world for a great share of the misfortunes of the world. We have failed so miserably that when the United States under this administration launches a rather humane kind of offensive in South Vietnam by using riot gas to disperse Communist installations—the same kind of tear gas, the same kind of riot gas, used by the police departments in every community of this country, the same kind of tear gas and riot gas that bankers buy and put in bombs to chase bank robbers out; it leaves its victims after a few hours completely as well as they were before, is much more humane than shooting with a BB rifle in the face, or a pistol or a .22 rifle or modern small arms or hand grenades or bombs—the whole world—the Communists, the neutrals, our friends—condemns the United States and accuses us of returning to barbarism and using poisonous gas.

Now look at the other side of the coin. Just a few days ago the Communists out of North Vietnam moved in and bombed our Embassy, killing civilians, killing women, killing children, a completely barbaric attack. Show me the foreign country which has come to the support of the United States and publicly said, "This is barbarism. This is a terrible thing. The Communists are launching an attack against innocent noncombatants."

Don't expect the Communists to condemn the North Vietnamese. Where are the neutrals? They are not speaking up for us. The people who condemned us for using tear gas are not condemning the Communists for killing women and children. Even our friendly countries, our associates, and our allies in the Western alliance say nothing or say very little against that kind of attack.

Something is wrong with American policy. There is nothing wrong with American attitudes, nothing wrong with the American ideal, nothing wrong with the basic concept that we provide a lot of foreign aid and leadership and help the free world get stronger, resist the encroachments of imperialistic, aggressive, atheistic communism. Nobody really believes we are imperialistic. Nobody really believes we are trying to superimpose any religious creed or a political philosophy on anybody.

We do this out of an abundance of good will and out of some impulse of self-preservation, and we get attacked. The reason is in my opinion basic and fundamental, involved in conditions which this legislation can correct and which are not going to be corrected and which are not correctable without something along this line.

And why there should be this stubborn sense of pride on the part of the State Department to resist an idea because they didn't think of it



first? You didn't think of it first. I didn't think of it first. I don't know whether Alan Grant thought of it first or somebody down on the Orlando Committee thought about it first or some happy Florida college professor, pepped up by drinking orange juice in the morning, thought of it first, but somebody got the idea.

I think it is a corking good idea, and here is a chance to do something about it and I am appalled at a State Department which comes before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am a member, and when we say, "What is wrong in Saigon? Why can't they maintain a stable government?" They say, "The military is all right. These little fellows are good fighters, but they can't develop a civilian government. They can't have stability among the people governing the land. They don't have any trained people under the top leaders."

Think of it. This is their testimony. This is how they try to defend the fact that they don't get anyplace: "The military does a good job, but the civilian government, led first by one leader of South Vietnam and then by another, in the lower echelon are untrained. They are unskilled. They don't know how to run the machinery of freedom."

And we ask them, "Then, you as a State Department are primarily responsible for the collapse of South Vietnam because you have blocked the only—the only—effort to provide that kind of training for those kind of people."

That is where we stand. You can correct it. We can help correct it.

I think that perhaps some of this reaction to America is inevitable because we are rich and because we are powerful, but I don't think that reaction is automatic, because I think that sometimes wealth and power have traditionally elicited respect, more commonly than hatred. People have migrated to this country by the tens of millions because they admire our wealth and our power and our system, so it isn't something of which we should be ashamed.

More than that has to be involved. The United States has expended these efforts outside our borders now for a long time, about 24 or 25 years I believe since we passed H.R. 1776, the lend-lease bill. I was a member of Sol Bloom's House Committee on Foreign Affairs when we passed the thing in its first inception. It was to last 2 years, and now it has lasted 24 or 25 years, and we get abuse instead of acclamation for what we are doing.

(At this point Mr. Pool entered the hearing room.)

SENATOR MUNDT. I think we have waited too long to come to grips with the basic problem. We have become an international scapegoat, despite our generosity, and it is more difficult to turn somebody who hates you into a friend than it is to avoid causing the person to hate you in the first instance.

I know that we realize the United States does not deserve this hatred. We have done more in a sincere effort to cultivate friendship than anybody in the history of the world and we have reason to hope for better reactions and we have reason to feel that we are entitled to them.

Our fault has been a failure to comprehend what makes the other peoples tick, to understand their philosophy, their background, their psychology. We have concentrated on one problem—foreign develop-

ment, economic aid. We have done very little effectively to encourage the propagation of attitudes friendly to our interests or to utilize assistance to best further our own interests. This isn't just a matter of straight information. When I was in the House of Representatives, we passed Public Law 402 of the 80th Congress which provided the mechanics of information, the Voice of America, the mobilized libraries, the libraries on sites over there, the whole program of student exchanges. This was fine, straight information, but there is failure—and Mr. Clawson was touching on that point a moment ago in talking with Mr. Gurney—to understand the people with whom we deal and to understand the job our people are supposed to be doing over there. They fail to get the job done primarily because they fail to understand thoroughly, as experts should, the whole challenge of our day and age and what precipitates it.

We seem to depend strongly on rationality. We are practical; we attempt to disseminate information on a straight information approach. The other fellow uses propaganda, which is a more effective selling technique.

In developing areas of the world, we increasingly confront Communist antagonists who compete for allegiance, or at least tolerance, among the same host people where our diplomats and our Americans are housed. The Communists elicit emotional responses, where ours are rational responses. They are evangelists. We are practical salesmen. They offer with development activity a dogma, a creed, that packs emotional substance along with rational approach; that is, they build dams and spread a world view which helps people torn away from their traditional ways of life and their homeland by the impact of the dam to adjust to the new life. In this view propagated by the Communists of course, the United States is the world's fundamental evil and when we build dams we simply flood people out of their homes with no regard for human beings.

Somehow our people have not been able to study their hosts in the intensity required to understand how to appeal emotionally as well as rationally. The question of race supplies an excellent example.

We go into the situation as democratic people who believe that all men are created equal, should have an equal opportunity, but we fail to translate American concepts in terms of people of different races and different attitudes and different areas to make them appeal to them in the kind of atmosphere in which they live and with the type of associates with whom they commingle.

So while we work hard to bring benevolent change to hundreds of millions of people, the Communists exploit the insecurity and the threat to individual identity resulting from our and their efforts at economic development.

The Freedom Academy bills before your committee propose intensive basic research, first of all. They propose an effort to master an academic discipline fairly new to us—nonmilitary warfare, in which we have been engaged with great futility for 17 or 18 years. This discipline involves the understanding of emotional and psychological processes of differing peoples. People from different national backgrounds are motivated by different stimuli. To erect adequate defense against nonmilitary aggression waged against our interests, we seriously need this understanding.

Our social sciences, of course, in this country lead in this direction, but they are incomplete. Their material is not put together and unified and integrated and related to the attitudes and the minds and the mores of the people in the host countries where we meet the Communists toe to toe and one or the other is winning and one or the other is losing in an economic war and in a political war and in a propaganda war.

People base their attitudes and judgments on cultural values that they know. Differences are apparent even within the United States. People from different areas often build and hold to different values. Maine is quite different from Arkansas. Translated outside our general culture, this raises fundamental problems. How well do our people comprehend the effects of American activity in different cultures when we have no concentrated effort to understand their cultures?

Part of the problem is the inclination to apply knowledge gained in social sciences by observation and measurement among one segment of human civilization to other segments where such information does not apply. Africans act differently from Americans. Apparently Laotians act differently from Vietnamese. Certainly Chinese act differently from Russians, even though they both claim adherence to Marx.

Knowledge about differing national and racial characteristics is diffuse. It is not systematized. You can't read it in a book. We need an institution like the Freedom Academy to systematize it and to disseminate it among persons who can utilize it in our own interest.

I have talked to many American diplomats. "How much training have you had in the job of defeating communism in the area where you are going to do the work?"

The answer: A day, 3 days, a week, 2 weeks.

It is a tremendous challenge. They ought to study it as hard as a dentist studies a tooth before he puts up a shingle and says, "I am a dentist and I can take care of human beings."

We cannot assume that other people think like we do. We should learn how they do think and determine how to apply that knowledge to our interest. Our antagonists utilize such knowledge to undercut governments friendly to us, to subvert independent nations, to mobilize youths, to get mobs to burn down our libraries. They are motivated to do things which they shouldn't be doing because the Communists have made a study of what it takes to motivate the people in that particular country about the kind of problems that confront them.

The Communists know something about their target people. They appeal to hatred, to grudges, to resentments, to discontent, to idealism, to ambitions, whatever motivates them. They appeal to the poor to rid themselves of exploiters, and they label us the exploiters. They appeal to the young to institute justice, and they label us as the manufacturers and portrayers of injustice. We need the same knowledge about what motivates these people to help to improve their defense against such tactics, for their defense contributes to our own defense.

What is in this Freedom Academy bill, then, which is applicable to what I have been talking about? I would like to outline a few factors in the proposed legislation which are potentially responsive to the challenge.

1. This institution would not be encumbered by the traditionally highly specialized structure of social science. Instead of economics, sociology, political science, linguistics, and the many others, each maintained in a separate compartment, the whole lot would be unified in a shape applicable to this analysis of various cultures. The whole world then could be contemplated, as well as men can do it, in a unified and not a highly diversified way. Such comprehension would allow for more thorough instruction than is now available on the immediate problem. It would be a better answer than the State Department's casual comment that they can get it at Princeton, they can get it at Harvard, they can get it at George Washington, they can get it at Georgetown, they can get it at American University. They are not getting it. It isn't taught anywhere.

The question is should they have it, or should we send out amateurs?

2. It would permit research into subjects now ignored. How non-military warfare or guerrilla warfare is fought would be analyzed, for example. We have a War College for military warfare. We don't even have a kindergarten for nonmilitary warfare, and this year we will continue spending in the long pull in this economic program.

If the economic cultural program fails, we have to fight a "hot" war. This is the waging of peace, but we don't have a kindergarten where they teach how to avoid the war they hope never to fight. They have war colleges all over the place. They have military academies, air academies, merchant marine academies, and a war college in town; nothing for the fellow who wants to be able to develop an expertise as a peacetime representative fighting in the cold war for the U.S.A.

3. As a pioneer in research and training in areas not now familiar, the Freedom Academy work and methods might, where successful, serve as an example for imitation by other institutions. Maybe it would make it possible for some of the great universities of this country and colleges to improve their own programs.

I heard what Mr. Gurney said. They require them to teach what communism is, the true facts about communism, in Florida. They have a difficult time getting a textbook. You can get one written by a crypto-Communist that makes it sound better than it is. You can get one written by some extremist in the anti-Communist field who makes it sound like something which it is not. But to get an objective, intelligent, analytical basis, it is very difficult to find a text written either for colleges or high schools.

4. The Freedom Academy could lead to better comprehension of our own Government and of executive branch processes in foreign affairs as they are related to the problems of combating communism in foreign countries.

5. The Freedom Academy could organize, verify, and systematize ideas and data and concepts from throughout the world, from every possible cultural situation, and apply them to our interests, so that those who go there to represent us in the foreign country would know something more than about the geographical facts, something more besides the population facts, and the rainfall facts. They would know what it is that makes people operate in that area, what motivates them, what their dreams are, what their ideals are, what their fears are, what their history has led them to support or to fear.

6. It would better situate us to keep pace with world change. As change occurs it would be observed and evaluated as part of the continuous research effort. Since we passed the Voice of America program in this Congress, originating also in the House, in the 80th Congress, the vision of America throughout the world has become more important than the Voice of America, the utilization of television and community screens and the whole Pandora's box of opportunity that television provides. We are playing with it as though it were a toy. We have done a good job with radio, not very much on television. People can believe what they see, and we can get a story across through the use of the various opportunities of television.

7. It would provide information helpful to private business in maintaining good relations with host governments and peoples abroad. American corporations all over the place have fine junior executives stationed in virtually every foreign capital of the world. They are eager to help in the fight for freedom. They are motivated not only as patriotic Americans; they are motivated because their job goes out the window when the Communists walk in the door. They are motivated because their corporation might be expropriated.

The corporation, the one that pays their check, is pushed out of the country and they lose their job. Self-preservation is the greatest motivating factor any human being has ever had anywhere. They are motivated by self-preservation plus pretty good Americanism. They would like to help, but a lot of them develop into the "Ugly American" and they are hurting us. Why? Nobody has trained them. Nobody has given them the background. They know what to do to sell Buick automobiles, aspirins, and Coca-Cola, but they don't know what to do about serving Americanism. Even President Eisenhower one time when asked by Khrushchev, "Tell us the difference between communism and democracy," said it was too difficult a question to translate.

Every American ought to have an answer to that one quickly, which is right, which is sound. He has to get it some place. He has to understand it and an American shouldn't speak like a Babel tower with a thousand different explanations of the difference. We ought to understand it so well that you can say it with the same validity that you talk about the Constitution and what is the 10th amendment or the 5th amendment or the 1st amendment.

8. It would bolster our defense and the defense of nations not unfriendly to us in resisting Communist nonmilitary aggression.

9. It would teach Americans to understand the factors which motivate the Communists and would identify the best means to counteract that motivation and to help advance democratic processes instead of communism, one of the most difficult jobs I could never quite master after serving almost 10 years on this committee on which you serve so well now—what is actually motivating a Communist?

I asked it of Alger Hiss. I asked it of Elizabeth Bentley. I asked it of Whittaker Chambers. They are smart people that could make a success in any area. "What in the devil makes you work for the Communists?" And their eyes glitter and they have a sense of mission and they themselves believe they are somehow serving a good cause. They don't do it for money. They don't do it for power. I am talking about these people in our country, like the three that I have mentioned.

What motivates Communists? We ought to know that and get the demotivator in operation and try to motivate them with a better ideal, a religious ideal, an ideal of the brotherhood of man, the equality of opportunity, and the American dream. But first we have to understand that these are just not a bunch of people going out because they are paid. They are prodded into supporting the Communists. They have been misled. They have been brainwashed, gentlemen, by some of the greatest psychologists in the world.

You know what they talk about with respect to Dr. Pavlov and his dog and the condition of saliva, not a condition of mind. The whole Communist approach is based on the conditioning capacity of the human mind and how you operate it, and our people overseas ought to understand that.

We should know how to condition people in freedom.

Let me conclude by saying that I think that the training in this Academy would primarily include three categories. You are familiar with them. The first is what I have been talking about, the intense training of people from our own Government who work in foreign affairs, how to give them the tools they need to achieve the objectives that they hold in mind.

Second, there would be training for Americans engaged in non-Government activity, in the private sector. Read the sorry State Department substitute evolved from the Perkins commission report which they put in as a backfire to the Freedom Academy concept. They don't even approximate anywhere the concept of giving people in the private sector a chance for 90 days or 9 months or some other period of time, who are going to serve a lifetime overseas, to become volunteers in this great crusade for freedom by giving them the training and the equipment.

We have been told by employers they would love to put their employees in here with their expenses and let them learn. They would love to have them learn the common goal which we have, but there is no place they can go. We wonder why we don't win the cold war. We haven't even begun to fight with the troops available.

Third, the United States would, at long last, establish a political training center for foreign nationals who are either favorable to our values or who want to stop or avoid Communist subversion in their countries. We have identified six schools to which young Communists can go in China or in Russia or in Yugoslavia and become experts in the conveying and portraying of communism. There is no place, no place, a young Vietnamese civilian who wants to develop stability and permanency and continuity in government in Saigon can go to get it. The French don't have it. The British don't have it. We don't have it.

If he wants to be a soldier fighting in the jungle, we can send him to the United States. We will train him and send him back to fight. If he wants to be an aviator, we will train him. If he wants to be a navigator, we will train him.

But if he wants to be a statesman, if he wants to maintain stable government, if he wants to set up democratic processes, we say, "You can go to college someplace. We can get you a scholarship. Go to Harvard," or some other school. And it helps him and it is good, but he doesn't become expert in this field. It is a little remnant of the days

of a long time ago when we had a sort of inter-American training concept so that young bureaucrats, civil servants from Latin American countries, would come up to this country and serve in the various offices here that they served in there, and I have addressed, and maybe you have addressed, some of their commencement exercises. It is good for them. They learn a little about the census if they are in census work or about agriculture if they are in agriculture. They don't have any place to go to learn about the existing menace.

We have been trying to do the impossible. We have been trying to win with amateurs against people who have been carefully trained. Citizens of non-Communist countries who would like to benefit by appropriate training simply cannot find any place in the world an institution to which they can go.

May I conclude by saying I honestly believe this is the most important legislation this committee or this Congress has ever had. Its passage, I believe, would benefit freedom and promote permanent peace more than any one thing that Congress could enact. I ask permission, if I may have it, Mr. Chairman, to include at the end of my remarks three recent statements I have made on the floor of the Senate about the Freedom Academy.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ICHORD. Without objection permission will be granted and, Senator Mundt, I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your very valuable contributions to the record on these bills. I would state to you that it is the intention of the committee to conclude the hearings next week and we will definitely take action on this legislation and make a final disposition of the same.

You have talked considerably about the South Vietnam problem, and today we are concerned about the escalation of what is going on now in South Vietnam into a full-scale military war.

I sometimes think we have forgotten that over the years the problem in South Vietnam has escalated from the nonmilitary field into the present situation.

SENATOR MUNDT. It is a most perceptive observation and absolutely correct.

Mr. ICHORD. On February 24, 1965, we had a discussion on the South Vietnam situation, led by Mr. Gallagher, a gentleman from New Jersey, a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Fascell, also a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, made a very interesting observation which I would like to read into the record at this time, and I quote:

The Vietnam and Cuban problem emphasizes the continuing difficulty that the United States and the free world have in dealing with a new concept of international politics which has been evidenced by the Communist world. We no longer have fixed lines in the old military sense. That went out many years ago. We no longer have a direct or overt crossing of a boundary line by a recognizable armed force. We no longer have a clear-cut definition of what is armed, overt, or just plain aggression. This requires us on the free world side to maintain more than military flexibility. A standard, flexible, or new military response appears to be insufficient to a problem like the one we are facing in Vietnam, despite the fact that we are committed to a military response and may have to respond in even a greater degree. But we have not solved the basic problem of how to deal effectively in nonmilitary terms with what is commonly called subversion either military, economic, or political.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 63-78.

We are willing and should be willing to commit the necessary manpower, materiel, and resources to meet any military threat, but we must also look one step ahead and be working to obtain those solutions which will permit us to deal effectively with subversion without being forced into a partial or full military response.

I think, Senator, that we will all agree that we are not succeeding in meeting effectively the subversion, the political warfare waged by the Communists. How do you consider the Freedom Academy will operate? It will not be an operational body as such.

SENATOR MUNDT. No, I don't envision a university campus and a set of buildings or a formal situation like that. I envision instead a training procedure, many times operating in the form of seminars under the general aegis of the Freedom Academy Commission and that, in the main, its faculty members will be recruited from knowledgeable people in Government, some from outside of Government. I suspect they will have to have some chancellor or chairman or president to sort of direct the operations, but a fairly good analogy is the way the War College operates.

It doesn't have a campus. It doesn't have a football team. It doesn't have a college yell. This is a place where people go to get the kind of training they need. I envision that as far as the training procedure. The research business will have to be done by experts. It will have to have a library to which people can go to undertake certain assignments.

There is a young man who is going to be assigned to the Congo, let's say, by General Motors or by Coca-Cola. For his career and to become just as expert as he can in this problem, he is going to attend a class with Congolese background, but under knowledgeable direction. He will be given this whole understanding so before he goes he will know first of all, and I think this is paramount, exactly what the Communists are doing there to try to undermine us and how they operate and to what what impulses and motivations and aspirations they appeal when they go to their Congolese hosts, everything that they do. And they would not I believe, Mr. Clawson, engage in counter-espionage, but they would engage in countercontacts against these operations, trying to offset them. That would be part of the job, to try to defeat this thrust that the Communists are making in their cultural and propaganda and economic activities, and also to get on the offensive, to do things which, if they succeed, will be highly embarrassing to the Communists, which will show their system up for the failure that it is.

They become experts trained over here, as I say, in seminars and private tutelage, research, by bringing to bear in that particular case the best genius and ability that we have.

MR. ICHORD. The Academy would also not be a policymaking body.

SENATOR MUNDT. It would not. We strictly say the State Department is that body.

MR. ICHORD. It might throw suggestions of policy to the Department.

SENATOR MUNDT. There might be suggestions, but not the machinery for implementing our policies. I don't believe really that our failures abroad have come because our policies are bad. I think our policies generally are pretty good.

I think our failures have come because, to be frank, the State Department has not made the effort to use the techniques available today to



meet the problems which confront them. They are somehow or other sealed in the 19th century concepts of diplomacy, which used to work all right, but they just haven't grown up to the new challenge.

As I said to the Secretary of State before the Foreign Relations Committee about 3 months ago—21½ months ago maybe—"Dean, we are all trying to do the same thing here, but you have a fearful responsibility. If this thing fails now and this triggers off a great atomic war, the State Department is going to be cursed by people the rest of their lives, because they haven't even developed the machinery to try to develop the stable civilian central government, which you say is indispensable to military success."

And maybe it wouldn't work, but we have been in this thing for 5 years. Suppose we tried 5 years ago and brought in 500 South Vietnamese civilians, servants, in government each year. We would now have 2,500 people who were trained to understand the discipline of democracy rather than the compulsions of communism, who would understand that the function of a bureaucrat or a civil servant in the central government of Saigon is to be loyal to his country and to work with whoever is in control of his government, not to try to figure out some way to upset the fellow and put somebody else in and keep constant turmoil going. A public office is a public trust, not a license to steal, not a position from which you can promote your own personal or political or private fortunes, but a place to develop these concepts of service, patriotism, that public servants have in our country.

Mr. ICHORD. Senator Mundt, the Academy will be both teaching, training, and also conducting research.

SENATOR MUNDT. That is right.

Mr. ICHORD. New means and methods of fighting successfully cold warfare.

SENATOR MUNDT. The chairman has stated it exactly correct.

Mr. ICHORD. Then what do you think would be the most important contribution that the Academy could make?

SENATOR MUNDT. It is hard to evaluate them on a priority basis, Mr. Chairman, because we are dealing in a field which has been so completely neglected. I honestly believe if we were just going to do one single thing this would be a colossal mistake. I think it would be perpetuating the failures of the past, but I think the greatest glaring weakness on the whole free side of the world is the fact that a young Filipino or Vietnamese or Congolese, a young or old civil servant abroad, newly involved with all the responsibilities of running a democratic state of some kind or another adapted to his climate just hasn't any place in the world he can go to learn to run the machinery of freedom. He can learn to be a preacher or a doctor or a dentist or an agrarian, but no matter how deep his dream or how high his hopes, there is no place he can go and learn precisely what you have to do to operate the machinery for freedom in the world in which Communists continue to try to encroach upon you and undermine you.

So I think I would have to place that at the top, but I would hate to put it on a priority basis. You can build, I think, equally strong arguments of the other aspects of the Freedom Academy complex.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Pool.

Mr. POOL. Senator, I came in late and I don't know whether you covered this or not, but Averell Harriman in testifying before this

committee last year brought up one objection to the Freedom Academy in which he said that it would be Federal control of education. I would like to hear your comments on that.

SENATOR MUNDT. Yes. That same point was made in our Senate hearings. Personally, I can't see any basis for that. In the first place you start out here, talking now about the first two sectors, for Americans, private or public figures, you are dealing with people who have been pretty well educated. Most of them are college graduates, I hope, before the State Department brings them on board. They have their academic training. They have been through high school, grade school, and they have been through college. This is teaching them in techniques, and they come under a certain control of Federal discipline, Congressman, the minute they take the oath of office as a Foreign Service officer.

Their job is to carry out the policy of the President, and the State Department and the Congress. All we are adding to that is, here are the tools with which you can move on it.

As far as bringing in the foreigners are concerned, they raised the objection, "Well, this might be considered some kind of propaganda." Well, so be it. I guess in a world in which the forces of propaganda are arrayed, unless we do something to propagandize our cause we are not going to win it.

They are doing plenty to propagandize theirs. We take people who want to come over. We don't go out and recruit them or solicit them or sign them up because they are good football players or boomerang throwers or something else. They come over because they want to learn about our way of life, and "Here it is, Chum. You can take it or leave it. This is it," and give them an opportunity. I don't think it is serious reason for people to vote against the Freedom Academy concept.

MR. POOL. You can draw an analogy also between the service academies. You can say that is Federal control of education, but it is a necessary thing that we have defense and this is part of our defense.

SENATOR MUNDT. You make a very good analogy there, and there is even more danger, if you are worrying about Federal control there, because they are teaching at the college level. We are at least getting people who have gotten out of the college and have gone to the college of their choice.

MR. ICHORD. Would the gentleman yield at this point?

This year, Senator Mundt, the State Department made this statement in opposition to the bill, and I read:

Expertise and operational experience are as important in the formulation of policy as they are in its execution. For this reason, the Department seriously questions whether comprehensive and realistic plans for dealing with the infinitely complex problem of U.S. foreign affairs can be developed by a new, separate Government agency, especially one without operational responsibilities.

The Department seems to be saying that before you can possibly formulate any policy you have to be in the operating field. I don't quite understand the point the Department is making there. It would appear to me that the Department would have the point of view that the colleges today which are conducting research for the Federal Government and also for business are not capable of conducting research into business, into governmental operations, because they are not in the operating field.

SENATOR MUNDT. I am glad the chairman prefaced his statement by saying, "It would appear to me," because it is a statement which is certainly subject to a lot of interpretations. It is not very clear-cut. It is written by a fellow who is accustomed to discussing some diplomatic blunder overseas and who can say it in language you can read any way, certainly not a very succinct or concise statement.

Mr. ICHORD. Perhaps the State Department doesn't understand the true concept of the Academy. It is not an operational body.

SENATOR MUNDT. Right. It appears to me they are simply saying something which isn't the fact. We are not trying to develop the policymakers at the top level. We are trying to develop the operational people to carry out the policies. I suspect the State Department, which is criticized for lots of things, thinks we are trying to criticize the policy. It isn't that at all. The policies, we have to believe, made by Americans are generally going to be good.

Mr. ICHORD. Of course, the Department may feel that the Academy will intrude into their traditional area of responsibility and authority.

SENATOR MUNDT. True, and it is going to expand the circle of experts and maybe some of these operational people will grow up to be policy people some time, and I think that might be good for the country.

Mr. ICHORD. That certainly wouldn't be operating within the State Department field.

SENATOR MUNDT. Not at all, no.

Mr. ICHORD. Go ahead, Mr. Pool.

Mr. POOL. I have one other question which I asked yesterday. This witness last fall from the Army was testifying about Vietnam. He was telling about the regional offices of the Viet Cong and where they sent out terroristic gangs to go into these villages and if they didn't agree with them they murdered the mayor or the leader, and he recited many things that the American people would not countenance. It would be against our morals to do things that they do. I don't believe that we can just give up and say, "Well we can't operate that way."

I think that a Freedom Academy could do research and find methods to combat that type of activity, and I would like to hear your comment on that. I am sure you have thought about that.

SENATOR MUNDT. Yes. I am glad you mentioned the village analysis, because we were discussing with Maxwell Taylor and some of the other people from the military and the State Department over at the Foreign Relations Committee one day what our general approach was to this problem of the underground operation down in the Mekong Delta. And they mentioned they have built a large part of it on the village concept, which you discussed, that you develop a little village government. They develop a compound. The peasants work in the daytime and come back at night. They have an orderly system of government, but they have been unable to develop methods for screening out the subversive elements that creep in. They haven't been able to develop an adequate police force to protect them at night and they do get down through the compound and murder the village chief and parade through the village with his head on the end of a stick, and that discourages somebody else from running for mayor.

So I raised the perfectly innocent question, "How do you train these mayors? Where do you get them? How do you train these municipal governments?"

You would think I asked them a question in Chinese. They never heard of such a thing, the idea that you are going to have some place to train them, another look at places you can send them in this country to train. You could send them to a municipality to train them and, if you had it systematized as you would under this Freedom Academy concept, you would at least let him know "If you are going to be a good mayor you have to have a police department." You experts in this field of subversion in our country have staff members, and you yourself are competent to say some of the things they have to do to be alert to the subversive elements from the Communist Party who are going to try to weasel their way in.

Actually I think it is a cruel thing to say, but we haven't made an intelligent try at winning the conflict in Vietnam with peaceful methods. I have no particular criticism of the military methods. This is a tight spot they are in. But I shed crocodile tears that we have wasted years and we haven't been training these village chiefs and these mayors and these civil servants.

MR. POOL. And we are getting into the basics when we think of those problems. We have to have a way to do it, and this Freedom Academy, the way I envisage the Freedom Academy, would have a curriculum to work on that problem and also to find out whom they are going to train and how they are going to train them.

I am sure there is an answer to any type activity on the Communist side if we just work at it and do research and have experts in the field to work at it, and we don't have any schools in the United States doing that at the present time.

SENATOR MUNDT. This is right.

MR. POOL. As you said a while ago, it is a bunch of amateurs and we can't win with amateurs.

SENATOR MUNDT. You are absolutely right.

MR. ICHORD. Mr. Pool, the Senator made a very interesting observation before you came in about the tear gas situation in South Vietnam. I, like the Senator, was completely astounded at some of the people in the United States speaking out against the use of tear gas, as I understand to be the case, not by the United States, but by the South Vietnamese themselves, who when they are out pursuing an enemy, the Viet Cong, and go into a village, rather than going into the village and bombing the entire village and perhaps killing all of the innocent villagers, they go out and subject them to tear gas or nauseating gas, whatever you call it, and they are able to take the Viet Cong in a more humane way and save lives.

SENATOR MUNDT. In that connection, Mr. Chairman. I had an interesting letter just the other day from a dear friend of mine back home, a minister of the Gospel, just giving the administration the devil and castigating it from one end to the other for even using the barbaric weapon called gas, so I wrote him. I said, "Look, as a Republican I don't like to spend too much time every day justifying the acts of the administration, but let me ask you the question. Suppose you had been

the target. Would you rather have been gassed with tear gas and be feeling all right a few hours later, or hit in the back with a bullet or hit on the head with a club?"

Well, he thought it over pretty carefully and he said, "I guess maybe the administration wasn't so wrong on that."

The publicity was bad.

Mr. ICHORD. I was talking to an enlisted member of our Armed Forces the other day who was also astonished at the reaction in this country. He merely pointed out in his training he and many of the boys were subjected to tear gas by being placed in a building where tear gas, a nauseating gas, was exploded, and usually about 50 percent of the boys before they got their gas masks on were overcome by the gas, particularly if they didn't know how to get the gas masks on effectively.

Does the gentleman from California have any questions?

Mr. CLAWSON. Just one or two: Senator, you provoked a number of questions in my mind over the establishment of the Freedom Academy and our activity in this direction in order to win the global struggle which you have described, and you have indicated to win is necessary.

May I ask one very simple question? Do you think peaceful coexistence with communism is possible?

SENATOR MUNDT. Yes, because the alternative is global atomic war, and I would hate to get into that pessimistic camp, so I think it is possible and I think it is possible to win.

All of us believe our system is infinitely better. Our selling techniques are not as good. Our methods of winning the people are not as good. It is more difficult to translate the aspirations of free men into the minds of aborigines than it is the immediate rewards of communism, but it is not impossible. What brought all our ancestors to this country in the first place as immigrants? It was this American dream that we just have to take over and sell to them and make it possible for them to do.

Mr. ICHORD. I take it the Senator is not so hopeful that the Communists will change in, and of, or by themselves.

SENATOR MUNDT. No, I certainly do not. I think we have to set them back, and with all our fumbling, we see evidences that they are lagging behind in consumer goods over there in meeting the needs of their own people. They are finding it more and more difficult to keep their satellites in line. With a little intelligence muscle applied, I think we could have won this thing in the last 17 years and not spent as much money as we have.

Mr. CLAWSON. I am not nearly as optimistic as you apparently seem to be, looking at Christianity in the past 2,000 years and the ability, in a peaceful way, to sell what we believe is right. We have had dedicated evangelistic type of people who are selling.

You indicated a period of possibly 5 years experimenting with this.

SENATOR MUNDT. About what?

Mr. CLAWSON. Five years.

SENATOR MUNDT. No; I said 5 years in Vietnam. We have lost 5 years of opportunity.

Mr. CLAWSON. I misunderstood.

Senator MUNDT. No; I don't think we are going to have peaceful coexistence with Communists and defeat them in 5 years.

Mr. CLAWSON. No major inroads are going to be made within the period of 5 years. I am afraid what you are talking about is a total global struggle.

Mr. POOL. It could very easily be a hundred years.

SENATOR MUNDT. Very much.

Mr. CLAWSON. This is a long-term program. The State Department has indicated in correspondence that I have had with them, and this hasn't been verified, that they are now doing many of the things that you are talking about with respect to the Freedom Academy in connection with foreign assignments—their economics, society, their geography, their culture, their language.

All of these things are being taught, so to speak, before they are ever assigned to a country.

SENATOR MUNDT. They are pecking away at it. They are not making any experts. They are giving a very short period of time in the Communist techniques. We are talking here now not just about taking these American officials who go overseas, whose job it is to represent us, and giving them a quickie course in these things of 30 days or so. We should take the time. It may be 6 months; it may be 9 months; it may be a year; it may be longer, depending upon the complications involved, but making them experts in this field.

Mr. CLAWSON. What guarantees would we have that we would be more successful? Would tests be given and this sort of thing? Some of our training today is certainly in capsule form and it is thrown at them in doses that years ago would have been considered perhaps totally impossible to be absorbed by the people who are taking these courses.

SENATOR MUNDT. This is right. They would be screened out. They would be tested. This is the seminar or academy concept, that you train people and explore how successful we have been.

Mr. CLAWSON. This could have been in the existing program?

SENATOR MUNDT. There isn't any such existing program. There is no place for the foreign national to come, no place for anybody in the private sector to come, no place where they have done the research in the place to get the raw material with which to teach, having for them the kind of experts, advocates, and tutors required to do the kind of job we are thinking about. It isn't here.

First, you have to have, as in any school, a teacher and a background and a textbook and the research and the know-how and then the ability to impart it to the people who need to absorb it. The Foreign Service Institute, you say, now does a good job of teaching them the language, does a good job of teaching them the economics of the situation, the population statistics, the kind of seasons that they have, does a good job on how to try to maintain security for your records and how you transport the innumerable cables that go back and forth, but it doesn't even get into this thing in the depth required and the depth achieved by their Communist adversaries. We are forced by the kind of competition we meet over there to use professionals, in my opinion, to win.

Mr. ICHORD. In that respect, if the gentleman will yield, last year

we had the State Department testifying on these bills, and the Senator has made a statement in reference to the Foreign Service Institute. Of course, we don't have a complete record as to what the State Department is doing in this field—and I might point out that much of it would, of course, be classified and certainly wouldn't be appropriate to have in the record—but in regard to the National Academy of Foreign Affairs, I got the idea——

SENATOR MUNDT. You mean for foreign nationals?

MR. ICHORD. The National Academy of Foreign Affairs recommended by the State Department.

SENATOR MUNDT. Yes, I see.

MR. ICHORD. I got the idea that the State Department in that bill had borrowed many of the concepts set forth in this Freedom Academy legislation. They did make it possible to train private citizens, for example. I know they don't contemplate doing it on as large a scale as contemplated by these bills.

SENATOR MUNDT. This is correct. After their first testimony in opposition to that as their bill has evolved, as ours has, they have brought some of that in, and I am not a stickler, whether you call it an Academy of Foreign Affairs or a Freedom Academy. The Foreign Service Institute which they now operate isn't doing the job and the commission they appointed to collect the orchids to pin on the breasts of the State Department came back with brickbats and catcalls. The Perkins commission jarred it, and then they began to move in this direction.

MR. ICHORD. I would like to ask the Senator how you envisage the information center operating. There has been some question about the advisability of such a center being established.

SENATOR MUNDT. Yes. This would operate much along the same line that the Voice of America information service and the U.S. Information Service, and that means that they limit what they provide to the needs of the people who are qualified to function and to operate the activities of the Government. It is not a propaganda instrumentality to be turned internally upon the schools. It provides the facts, which are documented without any propaganda, and it does it primarily to train the people who are going to utilize it. It could be made available to a college professor who wants to come and learn it if he is going to be stuck with the job he has in Florida of teaching communism or a high school professor, but not in the sense of propaganda at all.

MR. CLAWSON. I have just one more question in that connection. This is the first of these hearings that I have been in on, and I am interested in this legislation.

I certainly appreciate your testimony and I think it lays a good foundation for me and I am sure it is beneficial to the committee. Since you have indicated that junior executives of American corporations going into foreign lands might be involved in this program, and certainly our own foreign diplomatic corps and our State Department personnel, would you seek to have a compulsory program under the Freedom Academy?

SENATOR MUNDT. For the private sector?

Mr. CLAWSON. Or for either sector.

SENATOR MUNDT. Not for the private sector.

Mr. CLAWSON. Not for the private sector, at all?

SENATOR MUNDT. That is purely voluntary. They would operate as volunteers.

Mr. CLAWSON. You think you would get a lot of response?

SENATOR MUNDT. A lot of these ambassadors are not operating on a team basis. Some of them would bring in some of the people for discussions to see what they could contribute, but that is all voluntary and just a labor of good love for the country and to preserve the private concept, ownership concept, in the country so they can continue to function.

For the fellow who is going to serve as a member of the foreign policy establishment, diplomatic establishment overseas, if he is, for example, the agricultural attaché or the commercial attaché, or the military attaché or the second secretary or the first secretary or any important job over there, yes, sir, compulsory. Perhaps the Ambassador too should take it if it is in a small country and he is an inexperienced Ambassador. I don't mean for the girl who is doing the typing necessarily, although I would give her 30 days or so because we have a lot of girls over there and young people who are doing things unintentionally which are, to use a State Department expression, "counter-productive."

Mr. CLAWSON. I think we have had some experience in that line.

Mr. ICHORD. I thank the gentleman from California. There will be no further questions. Thank you very much, Senator, for your very penetrating analysis.

Senator MUNDT. Thank you. Thank you for your very penetrating questions, and we have great hopes for this committee to get something done.

(The statements submitted by Mr. Mundt and referred to on p. 53 follow:)



March 4, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

(p. 4059)

# THE FREEDOM ACADEMY

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it is my intention to address the Senate briefly each week in order to emphasize our need for legislation patterned after our Freedom Academy bill (S. 1232). I intend to present timely evidence supporting the contention behind the bill that we are yielding ground which we need not yield in our efforts to stem the expansion of aggressive communism.

To the many observers who support the Freedom Academy concept, this attitude that we are not so successful as we might be has required no argumentative support; and, naively perhaps, we have thought we needed no considerable evidential support in contending that our side of the world is not prepared to fight in the specific arena where the battle between Communist aggressors and their victims is being fought.

This arena is essentially the nonmilitary or only quasi-military arena. We Americans, who exhibit pride in our historic guerrilla-type warfare capabilities which we demonstrated so effectively during the French and Indian War, our American Revolution, and the conquest of the West, inherit from our ancestors a contempt for militarists like Braddock who refused to recognize the impotence of continental-type enemies against backwoods guerrilla bands, now find ourselves the ones who send million dollar jet aircraft armed with thousand-pound bombs against an ephemeral enemy whose operational capacities are so adroit that he may well not be there when the bomb arrives.

But the guerrilla game has gained sophistication, too, since we left it. Its political side is far more thorough now. Psychological warfare is mounted against a people by their enemies from within to soften their resistance to the more tangible guerrilla or quasi-military operation conducted in conjunction with it at the later stages of attack.

And we seem to stand by, wringing our hands, wondering what is going on as we see the will to resist among an ally's people wafting away like so much smoke.

The L. L. Sulzberger column in Wednesday's New York Times testifies to our need for the Freedom Academy. Listen to some poignant observations from this gifted observer of foreign affairs.

American defense plans during the past decade have carefully and expensively prepared to fight the only kind of war we are least likely to face. And we have not in any major sense prepared to fight the kind of war both Russia and China surely intend to press.

\* \* \* Moscow endorsed peaceful coexistence \* \* \* always reserved one vital area \* \* \* to support wherever possible "wars of liberation."

\* \* \* The modern elaboration of guerrilla techniques called "revolutionary warfare" by the Communists does not depend on heavy weapons or atomic arsenals. It depends upon simultaneous organization of partisan units and civilian administrators who seek to rot a selected country from within like fungus inside an apparently healthy tree.

\* \* \* Even today, when we have growing special service counterguerrilla units, some with kindergarten training in revolutionary warfare, we are abysmally behind.

\* \* \* we have nothing capable of offsetting what revolutionary warfare calls "parallel hierarchies" \* \* \*—the secret political apparatus that undermines morale and softens up the population.

\* \* \* while we are engaged in blueprinting superplanes and superrockets, we risk losing the world to guerrillas.

\* \* \* The quintessential problem is how to defeat revolutionary warfare \* \* \*.

Not merely the aggressive Chinese but the relatively less aggressive Russians are committed to sponsor "wars of liberation." Despite this glaring truth, both in weapons and in training we are basically prepared alone for the war our adversaries don't intend to start.

Those, Mr. President, are Sulzberger's words. I ask unanimous consent that his article "Foreign Affairs: One Kind of War We Can't Fight" from the New York Times of March 3, 1965, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times,  
Mar. 3, 1965]

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS: ONE KIND OF WAR WE CAN'T FIGHT

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS.—Some wars become associated with the names of individuals, and thus we have the Napoleonic Wars, the Black Hawk War and the War of Jenkins' Ear. There have been those who have sought to label the Vietnamese campaign "McNamara's war," after the U.S. Secretary of Defense and, politics aside, this is not wholly unjust.

March 4, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

(p. 4059)

## M'NAMARA'S INFLUENCE

For Secretary McNamara has clearly had more influence in our evolving Vietnam policy than his senior colleague, Secretary Rusk. McNamara has been a familiar Saigon visitor; his former military right hand, General Taylor, is now Ambassador there; and United States-Indochina strategy is more heavily marked by the Pentagon than by the State Department.

American defense plans during the past decade have carefully and expensively prepared to fight the only kind of war we are least likely to face. And we have not in any major sense prepared to fight the kind of war both Russia and China surely intend to press.

When post-Stalinist Moscow endorsed peaceful coexistence it always reserved one vital area. It openly promised to support, wherever possible, what it calls "wars of liberation." Khrushchev tried to play a trick on us in Cuba, but he had to back down because he was patently not engaged in a liberation war—only in directly threatening our vital interests. Our strategy was prepared for such a showdown.

However, when the Communists stick to their own rules they have a demonstrated advantage. The modern elaboration of guerrilla techniques called "revolutionary warfare" by the Communists does not depend on heavy weapons, or atomic arsenals. It depends upon simultaneous organization of partisan units and civilian administrators who seek to rot a selected country from within like fungus inside an apparently healthy tree.

For years we refused to face the fact that, equipped as we were for holocaust, we had neither the trained manpower nor the political apparatus to fight revolutionary warfare. To some degree, under both President Kennedy and the brilliant McNamara, this was rectified—but only in part. Even today, when we have growing special service counter guerrilla units, some with kindergarten training in revolutionary warfare, we are abysmally behind.

It is expensive and ineffectual to blow up jungle acreage or fill it with paratroopers in search of vanishing guerrillas. And we have nothing capable of offsetting what revolutionary warfare calls parallel hierarchies (know in Vietnam as Dich-Van) the secret political apparatus that undermines morale and softens up the population.

## SHIFTING STRATEGY

U.S. strategy tends to shift according to availability of weapons systems. It has

moved from massive retaliation to flexible response and from land bases to seaborne armadas. But, while we are engaged in blue-printing superplanes and superrockets, we risk losing the world to guerrillas.

Vietnam is McNamara's war because, in fighting it, we have overstressed the military and ignored the political aspect. We have, furthermore, been preoccupied with selling an American way of life and political philosophy unsuited to the people we would help.

## FACING THE THREAT

The heart of the crisis is not truly in Vietnam. The quintessential problem is how to defeat revolutionary warfare. Elsewhere in Asia and Africa we will continue to face the threat of this technique no matter what happens to the Vietnamese. That is inescapable.

Not merely the aggressive Chinese but the relatively less aggressive Russians are committed to sponsor wars of liberation. Despite this glaring truth, both in weapons and in training, we are basically prepared alone for the war our adversaries don't intend to start.

Mr. MUNDT. A nucleus proposal of the Freedom Academy bill (S. 1232) which I introduced in this session of the Senate together with the following sponsors: Senators CASE, DODD, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, LAUSCHE, MILLER, PROUTY, PROXMIRE, SCOTT, and SMATHERS, is that the U.S. Government should direct priority attention to providing adequate training for our own people and for our allies' people in this crucial area of nonmilitary-psychological warfare aggression.

We propose to prepare our people who face this test in the field to recognize nonmilitary aggression for what it is in all its variable forms. We propose to enable them to adopt appropriate counter-techniques and counterstrategies against such aggression.

Maintaining that our people should be so prepared is not tantamount to urging our adoption of Communist tactics. But we can better meet this challenge if we know what the challenge is all about and have in hand a complete understanding of the most effective and appropriate methods which we can employ for advancing freedoms cause.

March 11, 1965 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE (pp. 4751-4753)

# NEEDED: AN AMERICAN FREEDOM ACADEMY

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, last week I spoke of the need to enact something like the Freedom Academy bill so that our people working in foreign relations might be better prepared to understand techniques of nonmilitary aggression in its incipient stages when appropriate counteraction would more effectively enervate the aggressors, more effectively isolate them from potential success.

Today I would like to consider briefly another function proposed for the Freedom Academy, intensive training of foreign nationals. We would bring servants of friendly governments to this country, persons asking for the training, and teach them how Communists and other practitioners of nonmilitary aggression undercut independent governments which they have targeted for destruction.

The sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill, Messrs. CASE, DOBB, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, LAUSCHE, MILLER, PROUTY, PROXMIER, SCOTT, SMATHERS, and newly joining us, MURPHY, besides myself, a group broadly representative of the whole Senate, do not intend that such training for foreign nationals be limited to government employees only. We would include others—journalists, perhaps, or educators, civic leaders, people upon whom a friendly, nontotalitarian nation must depend for the insightful and wise leadership which is requisite for a nation to retain its independence in this new day of calculated disrespect for national sovereignty clothed in terms of sanctimonious honor for self-determination.

The Freedom Academy bill proposes intensive research into the methods of nonmilitary aggression, into methods of psychological warfare and all which goes with that, and concurrent training to disseminate findings, knowledge, and awareness—sophistication—accumulating from this research.

The free world needs such an institution. Let me read a letter symptomatic of the need. Addressed to a respected Washington journalist, whom I will not identify, the letter is signed by a foreign citizen who is studying in this country. I will not identify the nationality of the writer, respecting his request.

The letter is dated February 15, 1965.

It goes:

DEAR MR. ———: I was very much impressed by your (recently published article) \* \* \*.

Even though I could not wholly agree with what you say, I do realize that the most effective way to fight communism is using their own methods.

Here I interject to say that the Freedom Academy bill does not propose to mimic Communist violence. We propose to study Communist methods to understand them and to arm the people upon whom we depend for defense with understanding to better prepare them to cope with the challenge we face.

Returning to the letter:

It is the future of my country \* \* \* that compels me to write this letter. What is going to happen if \* \* \* [the political leader] is dead? I assume then the Communists will make a break to get in power. Who is going to stop them? Or will it be another Korea or Vietnam? I believe we, who still believe in freedom, have to prevent \* \* \* [his country] from falling into Communist hands.

Unfortunately, we do not know and do not have the means how to fight the Communists.

I have written to the American Institute for Free Labor Development, but that organization is for Latin America only.

Could you please tell me how I can join the Freedom Academy?

I am a medical fellow in this country and I want to return to my country not only with the medical knowledge, but also how to fight communism.

This opinion of mine is shared by many of us who study in your country.

I thank you beforehand and God bless you.

The journalist attached this note:

Senator MUNDT, now what can we do with a letter like this?

Right now my journalist friend can do nothing with the letter except write more articles. And about all I can do is talk to the Senate. Our Government affords remarkably little in the way of political training for this man. Probably at least part of the cost for his medical training is borne by our Government, but we refuse to recognize his coexistent need for realistic political education.

This week's press supplies further current evidence that the need I am discussing is real. It exists. It is not a bogey in the mind of professional anti-Communists. It is as real as anything in the political sphere.

March 11, 1965 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE (pp. 4751-4753)

The Lloyd Garrison story in the New York Times of March 9, datelined Brazzaville, the Congo Republic—across the river from Leopoldville in the Republic of the Congo—is fully pertinent.

Garrison writes:

The youths came in about 20 minutes after midnight. They wore khaki shorts and Chinese peaked caps with a red star on a black shield. [They were] \* \* \* recognized \* \* \* as members of the Jeunesse, the militant arm of the National Revolutionary Movement, the sole legal party in this country, the former French Congo.

One group broke down the door of the home of Joseph Pouabou, President of the Supreme Court. The youths pummeled (him) into submission. Then they beat Mrs. Pouabou and her children and dragged Mr. Pouabou unconscious to one of three waiting cars.

[The] \* \* \* scene [was] \* \* \* repeated at the homes of (the) Attorney General \* \* \* and \* \* \* [the] director of the Government's Information agency. Both were found dead 2 days later \* \* \*. Mr. Pouabou is \* \* \* presumed dead.

The killings took place the night of February 15 (the date of the letter I read earlier).

They marked the climax of a campaign to seize total control over the Government of moderate Socialists. One French observer here described the seizure of power as "a classic Communist-style takeover."

With guidance from Pelping's Embassy here, the radicals at first appeared content to play a minority role in a Government that the moderates hoped would reflect "all shades of national opinion."

But when delegates assembled to form a broadly based one-party system, they found themselves outmaneuvered and outvoted.

Communists came to dominate the party's policymaking body, formerly known as the Political Bureau and as the Politburo. In quick succession, the Politburo decreed the establishment of one trade union, one youth group, one women's organization \* \* \*.

Where fear has not enforced conformity, money has been dispersed freely as an added incentive. \* \* \*.

Nowhere in West Africa today is the Chinese presence so dominant. According to one reliable French source, Pelping's counselor of the Embassy \* \* \* now sits in on all of the Politburo's closed-door deliberations.

A classic Communist-style takeover. How much better if we could provide our willing and independent friends with understanding of what constitutes a classic takeover, what must precede it, what the tactics and techniques of takeover are.

Garrison's dispatch was continued in the New York Times of March 10:

The Chinese Communists are the dominant diplomatic force beyond this country's "scientific Socialist" regime. Many widely held assumptions about how they operate have proved false.

For one thing, they are not linguists \* \* \*.

There is no attempt to live simply or play on the image of the austere revolutionary. The Chinese \* \* \* occupy big villas and drive chauffeured limousines \* \* \*.

They are never seen in the open-air dance halls with other diplomats, who drink the local beer, dance the cha cha, and mix with the Africans. \* \* \*.

Africans find it impossible to strike up friendships with the Chinese.

Garrison notes, too, that China is quick to provide well-directed aid. For example, they have provided \$20 million to set up "Chinese-run small industries."

Excellent vehicles for further infiltration. He concludes:

The most informed consensus is that the Chinese will go only as far as is necessary to insure that the regime continues to be virulently anti-Western and affords them a secure base for subversion in the biggest prize of all—the former Belgian Congo, which lies just across the Congo River.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two articles by Lloyd Garrison, "Brazzaville: Story of a Red Takeover," from the New York Times of March 9, 1965, and "Chinese Aloof in Brazzaville," from the New York Times of March 10, 1965, be printed in full at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 9, 1965]

#### BRAZZAVILLE: STORY OF RED TAKEOVER

(By Lloyd Garrison)

BRAZZAVILLE, THE CONGO REPUBLIC, March 5.—The youths came about 20 minutes after midnight. They wore khaki shorts and Chinese peaked caps with a red star on a black shield. Most were armed with wooden staves and empty quart-size beer bottles.

Awakened neighbors easily recognized them as members of the Jeunesse, the militant arm of the national revolutionary movement, the sole legal party in this country, the former French Congo.

One group broke down the door of the home of Joseph Pouabou, president of the supreme court. The youths pummeled Mr. Pouabou into submission. Then they beat Mrs. Pouabou and her children and dragged Mr. Pouabou unconscious to one of three waiting cars.

The scene was repeated at the homes of

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Attorney General Lazar Matsocota and Anselme Massouemi, director of the Government's information agency. Both were found dead 2 days later beside the Congo River. Mr. Pouabou is still missing and presumed dead.

The killings took place the night of February 15. To experienced diplomats here they marked the climax of a campaign by the pro-Peiping African Communists to seize total control over the Government of moderate Socialists who ousted Abbé Fulbert Youlou's corrupt and discredited regime 2 years ago.

One French observer described the seizure of power as "a classic Communist-style takeover."

With guidance from Peiping Embassy here, the radicals at first appeared content to play a minority role in a government that the moderates hoped would reflect all shades of national opinion.

But when delegates assembled to form a broadly based one-party system, they found themselves outmaneuvered and outvoted.

Communists came to dominate the party's policymaking body, formerly known as the Political Bureau and as the Politburo. In quick succession, the Politburo decreed the establishment of one trade union, one youth group, one women's organization.

Only the Boy Scouts have yet to be absorbed into the party fabric.

Some prominent moderates, such as Paul Kaya, former Minister of the Economy, have slipped across the border into exile. Others have been retained in the civil service, where they do the government's bidding in political silence.

Under threat of reprisal if they don't comply, several Congolese in private occupations have been "persuaded" to fill key second-echelon posts.

Where fear has not enforced conformity, money has been dispersed freely as an added incentive.

The government still maintains a facade of moderation. President Alphonse Debat, a mildly leftist former schoolteacher who holds the French Legion of Honor, occasionally balances the Communists' anti-Western tirades with warm references to President de Gaulle and French aid.

But he and Premier Pascal Lissouba are powerless to initiate even the smallest decision without the rubber-stamp approval of the 10-man Politburo.

Nowhere in West Africa today is the Chinese presence so dominant. According to one reliable French source, Peiping's counselor of the embassy, Col. Kan Mai, now sits in on all of the Politburo's closed-door deliberations.

From the New York Times, Mar. 10, 1965  
CHINESE ALOOF IN BRAZZAVILLE SCORE BIG  
SUCCESS DESPITE LIMITED AFRICAN CONTACTS

(By Lloyd Garrison)

BRAZZAVILLE, CONGO REPUBLIC, March 5.—Peiping's diplomatic style has many Western observers wondering why the Chinese have been so startlingly successful in this former French colony.

The Chinese Communists are the dominant diplomatic force behind this country's scientific Socialist regime. Many widely held assumptions about how they operate have proved false.

For one thing, they are not linguists, at least in French, for there are many interpreters attached to their Embassy. Neither the Ambassador, Chou Chiuen, nor his principal aide, Col. Kan Mai, speaks French.

In their propaganda the Chinese have striven to project themselves as the purest and most down-to-earth Marxists whose skin color should make them the Africans' natural allies.

But there is no attempt to live simply or play on the image of the austere revolutionary. The Chinese dress in Western style, occupy big villas, and drive chauffeured limousines.

They are hardly outgoing. None indulge in comradely back slapping and joke swapping with the Africans the way the Russians do. They are never seen in the open-air dance halls with other diplomats, who drink the local beer, dance the cha cha, and mix with the Africans.

#### BRING THEIR OWN SERVANTS

Unlike almost all the other diplomats, the Chinese employ no African servants and have brought their own cooks, laundresses and even gardeners.

Africans find it impossible to strike up friendships with the Chinese. All members of the staff are required to travel in pairs even when going for a haircut.

Why the success of the Chinese?

Western officials agree on two points.

First, they stress the fact that the radicals in power here had long been warmly disposed toward the Chinese.

"Of course, the Chinese have been clever," one Western observer said. "But the table was already set for them when they arrived, and all they had to do was sit down and eat and mind their manners."

The second point is that the Chinese work incredibly hard.

From a handful, the embassy staff has grown nearly to 50 officials, each a specialist assigned to work closely with a ministry or organization, ranging from agriculture to children's groups.

#### SWIFT OFFER TO HELP

Compared with other Communist states, China moved swiftly in offering aid.

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First came a \$5 million loan to help balance last year's budget. Recently the government has accepted a \$20 million loan for setting up Chinese-run small industries. Each loan is interest free, with 10 years' grace on repayment.

The Soviet Union has offered an \$8 million agreement for financing, at 2.5 percent interest, such long-term, prestige projects as a luxury hotel and a hydroelectric dam that the Americans turned down as economically unfeasible.

What are Peiping's objectives?

Most Western experts doubt that the Chinese want to replace the French here completely. The Congo is a poor small country, and to assume the major responsibility for aid and budget subsidies would prove extremely expensive.

The most informed consensus is that the Chinese will go only as far as is necessary to insure that the regime continues to be virulently anti-Western and affords them a secure base for subversion in the biggest prize of all—the former Belgian Congo, which lies just across the Congo River.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, techniques of takeover appear quite diverse. For example, I read from a recent United Press International dispatch:

PUNO, PERU, February 26.—A report published here today indicated Latin American

"volunteers" trained in Cuba are fighting on the Communist side in South Vietnam.

The family of Julian Jimenez Ochoa, a young Peruvian who went to Cuba for guerrilla training, has been notified unofficially of his death in battle in Vietnam.

The report of Jimenez's death was contained in a letter purported to come from other young Peruvians who were serving with the Reds in South Vietnam.

One must wonder what the future holds for these young Latin American fighters for communism. They will likely utilize these skills in their homelands. Hopefully, non-Communists in Latin America will have timely opportunity to prepare themselves for confrontation with experienced guerrillas.

But although techniques of takeover are diverse, as with all else in human relations, there must be identifiable patterns in them.

We should identify these patterns and lay them open to full comprehension.

More important, we should make this knowledge available to persons who can use it to defend their own countries' sovereignty and, in so doing, to contribute to our own defense.

We have here a mutual interest.

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### THE FREEDOM ACADEMY GAP

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in speaking on the Freedom Academy bill, 2 weeks ago, I emphasized, on page 4059 of the RECORD, the need for greater sophistication among our own Government people who face Communist non-military aggression in the field. These are the persons upon whom our defense is structured.

Then, last week, I discussed, on pages 4751-4753 of the RECORD, the need that this country provide training for foreign nationals who want to preserve their own national sovereignty against non-military aggression by Communist or other expansive totalitarian powers. A whole new discipline of subversive techniques by the Communists is utilized, particularly against newly independent countries; and formal educational institutions to disseminate to potential practitioners knowledge and familiarity about this discipline are now operating in several Communist countries, training people from nearly every country of the world in the techniques of subversion.

The United States does very little to confront this challenge. Foreign nationals, upon whom rests the obligation to maintain their own national independence from Communist expansionism, have no place to go to acquire knowledge about nonmilitary, subversive techniques to help them know how best to resist this most effective method of aggression.

Today, I shall speak briefly about a third major feature of the proposed Freedom Academy. This is the training of nongovernment persons, persons from the private sector, who could constitute a very potent force in defense against nonmilitary aggression.

Sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill consider the non-Government sector of our heterogeneous democratic society a potentially valuable asset in contesting the Communist antagonist who must by definition be restricted to such homogeneity in emotional and intellectual resources as to constitute his potentially fatal weakness.

The Senators sponsoring this bill reflect this breadth of American diversity which should be our great national strength. Senators CASE, DODD, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, LAUSCHE, MILLER, PROUTY, PROXMIER, SCOTT, SMATHERS, and MURPHY, besides myself, represent all facets of political attitude

in this Nation, ranging from conservative to liberal, which are within the main current of American political thought. In supporting this bill, we express our common view that this strength of American heterogeneity is not adequately utilized in order to protect our national interests abroad.

From section 2(a) (8) (IV) of the Freedom Academy bill, I read:

The private sector must understand how it can participate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic manner. There exists in the private sector a huge reservoir of talent, ingenuity, and strength which can be developed and brought to bear in helping to solve many of our global problems. We have hardly begun to explore the range of possibilities.

The bill makes broad provision for better utilizing this talent.

A remarkable article in a recent issue of *Orbis*, the world-affairs journal published by the University of Pennsylvania, now adds greater substance to our proposal. The article is authored by Alexander T. Jordan, an authority on political communication and psychological warfare, who also is a commentator for Radio Free Europe. He entitled the article "Political Communication: The Third Dimension of Strategy." It appears in the fall, 1964, edition.

The article concerns the science of political communication, a science in which our country has fallen critically behind; we hardly even recognize its existence. Powers antagonistic to our national interests are far more knowledgeable than we. According to George Gallup:

Russia is a good generation ahead of us in her understanding of propaganda and in her skill in using it.

Another recognized authority, Murray Dyer, observes:

In Russian hands the psychological instrument has been used with consummate skill and no little success. It seems to be generally admitted that in our own hands both the skill and the success have been more limited.

But the purpose of Mr. Jordan's essay is not simply to criticize United States efforts in psychological warfare. Rather, he plumbs the "one major aspect of the psychological arm of strategy, namely, long-range ideological conversion."

This concerns us. We are obviously under attack throughout the world. The expansionism of Communist China is

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particularly aggressive, and the Chinese Communists utilize these techniques:

Yet little is done to forge new weapons and develop new techniques which will give us a chance to win the psychological war. \* \* \*. The various classifications of political communication differ among themselves at least as much as the Strategic Air Command differs from the Coast Guard. Each requires a different approach, different techniques, and different organizational structures. There is a tendency to overlook this fact and to demand simply more propaganda, without specifying the type required.

U.S. shortcomings lie particularly in the area of long-range ideological change.

I interject that a great part of the Freedom Academy effort would be expended in research directed exactly here—at understanding international and intercultural political communication. The first of the principal functions assigned to the Freedom Commission by this bill is:

1. To conduct research designed to improve the methods and means by which the United States seeks its national objectives in the nonmilitary part of the global struggle. This should include improvement of the present methods and means and exploration of the full range of additional methods and means that may be available to us in both the Government and private sectors.

Mr. Jordan identifies what he considers our outstanding need:

What is needed is an organic system of political communication. \* \* \* By organic, as opposed to inert, we mean a system in which the operating methods and even the organizational structure are determined by the ideas to be propagated.

The organic approach would begin with the selection of ideas. The next step would be to find people who believe these ideas firmly enough to impart their conviction to others.

People who believe in the values we try to propagate. Are there people who really believe in American values?—

Some object that "convinced political communicators" will be hard to find; if that is true, then it would seem that American ideas are hardly worth propagating abroad and we face eventual defeat on the ideological level.

There are many such people among us; but government officials do not make good communicators of this kind. The reasons are obvious. Because of their very association with government, officials cannot effectively propagate a political philosophy among a people alien to it:

The model for successful political communication is to be found \* \* \* in the

patient labors and intense convictions of missionaries of religious and political faiths—from St. Paul to Lenin. An organization dedicated to spreading its ideas among others should start with a group of passionate believers.

Mr. Jordan emphasizes:

The most urgent need \* \* \* is to utilize the spiritual energy of such people, while guiding and assisting them in accordance with national policy.

A basic principle, which he identifies, in such an organic communications system is this:

The communicator's intensity of conviction is the critical factor in his effectiveness (persuasiveness).

Mr. JORDAN continues:

Effective political action, especially in the long-range strategic sphere, must take the form of advocacy. Mere distribution of information \* \* \* is not enough.

Senators know this. It is clearly true. Successful practitioners of domestic politics advocate something; they seek to persuade.

Mr. President, the Freedom Academy, or an institution like it, would stand in perfect accord with this understanding.

Here is precisely the reason why the sponsors of the bill want suitable training for private individuals. The United States sends hundreds of thousands of its private citizens to reside abroad. A great many believe fervently in our institutions. All that is needed to make of them a very effective force for propagation of our beliefs is to let them know how and where they can be politically influential.

Mr. Jordan offers examples of the potential impact of such individuals acting independently of the Government.

A typical example \* \* \* is the Center for Christian Democratic Action in New York, which endeavors to promote Christian democracy in Latin America. It is a private body \* \* \* but it has behind it the authority of strong parties in Western Europe. It also has the support of important sections of public opinion in Latin America.

A Christian Democratic Party, incidentally, has just won control of a Latin American government, through a popular election.

Other groups? The AFL-CIO is already in the field. People in their program support the Freedom Academy bill. The National Association of Manufacturers certainly is interested in promoting free enterprise. The American Bar



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Association promotes the rule of law. Veterans organizations have common interests internationally.

Supporters of the Freedom Academy concept propose to utilize such a potential as this. There are hundreds of only slightly effective groups. This diversity in democratic life is our real strength, but it is one which we refuse to utilize in present-day foreign relations. According to Mr. Jordan:

We would commit a major error if we tried to use Communist methods in reverse, merely substituting white for black and vice versa. The use of entirely original methods, reflecting the character and way of life of the United States, would place the Communists on the defensive.

It is now time for us to bring our real strength up to the firing line in this new day of determined and deliberate non-military warfare. It is time to call up strong reserves. We should no longer rely on skeleton forces delegated to perform a job which requires our best effort if we are going to win.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Political Communication: The Third Dimension of Strategy," written by Alexander T. Jordan, and published in the fall, 1964, issue of the University of Pennsylvania's journal of foreign affairs, *Orbis*, be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: THE THIRD  
DIMENSION OF STRATEGY  
(By Alexander Jordan)\*

Military power and diplomacy comprise the two conventional dimensions of strategy, and economic action is sometimes called the "third arm of statecraft."<sup>1</sup> By the third dimension in this article, however, we mean all efforts, not confined to dealings between governments, to influence foreign audiences—whether we call it propaganda, political communication or psychological warfare. While less easily defined than the other two, this third sphere of strategy is recognized by political scientists—though not always by politicians—as equal to them in importance.

American weakness in this third dimension is deplored by writers on the subject. "It is my personal belief that Russia is a good generation ahead of us in her understanding of propaganda and in her skill in using it," wrote George Gallup.<sup>2</sup> Murray Dyer has commented: "In Russian hands the psychological instrument has been used with consummate skill and no little success. It seems

to be generally admitted that in our own hands both the skill and the success have been more limited."<sup>3</sup> Another writer noted: "The psychological warfare of the West is waged almost exclusively by America, or at least with American money; however, it is unsuccessful."<sup>4</sup> Arthur Krock, New York Times columnist, entitled one of his articles on this subject "Why We Are Losing the Psychological War." Books such as "The Propaganda Gap," "The Weapon on the Wall" and "The Idea Invaders" contain critiques of the U.S. psychological warfare effort by Americans dismayed to see their country second best in a field which they regard as vital.<sup>5</sup>

The purpose of this article is not to criticize the current U.S. program in psychological warfare, although some reference will be made to its shortcomings. Rather, we will examine at some length one major aspect of the psychological arm of strategy, namely, long-range ideological conversion, and recommend introducing into the overall U.S. effort an "organic system of political communication" which places more emphasis on the role of private, i.e., nongovernmental, institutions.

THE NEED TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON TECHNIQUES

In the many studies devoted to the subject of psychological warfare, major attention has generally been focused on broad lines of policy and on the status of pertinent government agencies. Little attention has been given to the actual operating procedures and techniques. "The history of this instrument, roughly for the past 25 years, shows very clearly that a great deal of effort has been expended on who should control it, i.e., Department of Defense or State. By comparison relatively little effort has been spent on what the instrument ought to be doing and what its main job was."<sup>6</sup> In other words, there has been much concern with what should be said and who is to be in charge of saying it, but little thought as to the technique of conveying the message to its target.

<sup>1</sup> Murray Dyer, "The Potentialities of American Psychological Statecraft," in "Propaganda and the Cold War," a Princeton University symposium edited by John Boardman Whittton (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Challenge of Ideological Warfare."

<sup>3</sup> Dyer, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Bela Szunyogh, "Psychological Warfare: An Introduction to Ideological Propaganda and the Techniques of Psychological Warfare" (New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1955).

<sup>5</sup> New York Times Magazine, Dec. 8, 1957.

<sup>6</sup> Walter Joyce, "The Propaganda Gap" (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); Murray Dyer, "Weapon on the Wall" (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959); George N. Gordon, Irving Falk, and William Hodapp, "The Idea Invaders" (New York: Communications Arts Books, Hastings House, 1963).

<sup>7</sup> Dyer, "The Potentialities of American Psychological Statecraft," *op. cit.*

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This omission would seem to imply that the critics consider the current techniques satisfactory. If that were indeed the case, victory in the battle for the minds of men could be achieved by finding the right message and then leaving its transmission to an agency with an adequate budget and a proper status within the structure of government.<sup>8</sup> This is, of course, a dangerous oversimplification. For while it is obvious that the scale of operations of the third arm of strategy must be substantially increased before a proper balance among the three instruments can be attained, there is an even greater need for a major revision of thinking on the subject.

Nothing less than a systemic revolution in the field of Western political communication can turn the tide of battle in the war for the minds of men. The assertion that the outcome of that war, rather than the outcome of one fought with nuclear weapons, will determine the fate of the United States and of Western civilization is almost a cliché of political writing and speechmaking. Yet little is done to forge new weapons and develop new techniques which will give us a chance to win the psychological war.

Even some of the most vehement advocates of a "psychological offensive" seem to think that the only weaknesses of present USA (U.S. Information Agency) activities lie in their limited scope and insufficient coordination with the other branches of government. Hence they conclude that an increased budget and a direct line to the White House would solve the problem. Such an oversimplified view suggests a failure to differentiate properly between various types of political communication. Military power—the first instrument of strategy—includes air, naval and land forces, which are not identical either in their character, deployment or operations. The various classifications of political communication differ among themselves at least as much as the Strategic Air Command differs from the Coast Guard. Each requires a different approach, different techniques and different organizational structures. There is a tendency to overlook this fact and to demand simply more propaganda, without specifying the type required.

The customary subdivision of political communication into strategic and tactical categories is not an adequate guide for fashioning instruments of psychological warfare.

<sup>8</sup> The idea that world opinion can be won over merely by spending more money and appointing a new Cabinet officer is similar to the suggestion that the problem of cancer could be solved in a few years by a crash program with a multi-billion-dollar budget. Scientists point out, however, that the solution to the cancer problem is a matter of brains rather than funds, that all the qualified researchers are already at work, and that their number could not be rapidly increased at any cost. In both these suggestions we are faced with a mechanistic outlook, inclined to substitute money for creative insights.

There is also an important dividing line between ideological conversion and all activity—both strategic and tactical—aimed at securing "relevant political action." The two fields inevitably overlap, but U.S. shortcomings lie particularly in the area of long-range ideological change. While less immediate in its effects, ideological conversion provides the indispensable infrastructure for strategic and tactical action toward specific objectives. The strength of Soviet political communication is precisely in this sphere, while in the medium-range and tactical fields the disparity between East and West is not as striking.

In advocating an enlarged U.S. effort, most writers fail to distinguish between these different types of endeavor and simply recommend increasing the budget of the USIA and enlisting advertising talents in the campaign of "selling America to the world." This might be a valid approach in dealing with political communication at the level of "relevant political action," but it falls far short of what is needed to bolster U.S. efforts at long-range strategic conversion. Much more basic changes are necessary in methods of action, organizational structure and operating procedures if we are to reverse the trend and strengthen the third instrument of foreign policy.

#### AN ORGANIC SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION

Nature of an organic system: What is needed is an organic system of political communication serving as a means of long-range conversion and cooperating with existing strategic and tactical psychological operations. By organic, as opposed to inert, we mean a system in which the operating methods and even the organizational structure are determined by the ideas to be propagated.

Organic communication systems are as old as the great religious faiths which, in their earlier stages at least, were seldom propagated by inert, bureaucratic methods. The innovation suggested here consists in consciously promoting the organic features of a communication system at the expense of the inert ones. That has certainly not been done by any Western government.<sup>9</sup>

An organic communication system would differ basically from a conventional one in the sequence of its operations. The conventional approach starts with the appointment of an administrative staff, which then hires professional communicators and seeks ideas to propagate. The organic approach would

<sup>9</sup> The possibility of creating an organic system of communication has been glimpsed, but sufficient attention has never been given to it. Senator KARL E. MUNDT, in a briefing paper presented to the White House in 1962, noted that: "The private sector must know how it can participate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic manner. There exists in the private sector a huge reservoir of talent, ingenuity, and strength which can be developed and brought to bear in helping solve our cold war problems." "Propaganda and the Cold War, op. cit., p. 75.

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begin with the selection of ideas. The next step would be to find people who believe these ideas firmly enough to impart their conviction to others. Some may be trained communicators and others not, but it is easier to impart communications skills than intensity of belief—especially since professional communicators, by the nature of their calling, often tend to develop an attitude of doubt or even cynicism. Once assembled, a team of dedicated persons should be given a fairly free hand in propagating its idea, and should be given such technical assistance as it may require. Far more mental energy would be released by such a method than could ever be delivered by a conventional organization working for the same objectives.

The importance of conviction: The model for successful political communication is to be found not in the dull bulletins of governments, nor in the flamboyant prose of copywriters, but in the patient labors and intense convictions of missionaries of religious and political faiths—from Saint Paul to Lenin. An organization dedicated to spreading its ideas among others should start with a group of passionate believers.<sup>10</sup> There are thousands of people in the United States who believe fervently in ideas which, if adopted in other countries, could serve the long-range interests of national policy. These individuals would not make good diplomats or information officers, but they could make excellent propagandists. The most urgent need of the third arm of strategy is to utilize the spiritual energy of such people, while guiding and assisting them in accordance with national policy. No attempt should be made, however, to try to make their activity merely a carbon copy of current tactical and medium-range policies.

The importance of what might be called the conviction coefficient has been demonstrated by many propaganda campaigns of the past. In the period between the two World Wars several Central European nations engaged in strenuous political communication efforts, directed largely against one another. Although their objectives are now irrelevant, these efforts merit our attention because of their success in proportion to the means used. The budgets and the numbers of personnel employed were but a minute fraction of those now at the disposal of the USIA; yet the worldwide effectiveness of their persuasive efforts was impressive. This is attributable not to the Central Europeans' superior knowledge of communication techniques, but rather to their firm conviction of the righteousness of their respective causes. Armed with such conviction, a single agent working from his apartment in a foreign city may sometimes achieve a

greater impact on the public opinion of the country than can a large government information office. Even tiny Lithuania managed to make the West aware of her claims to Vilno, while the Ukrainians—though without a state of their own—conducted active propaganda campaigns in Western Europe and in the United States. The results of these endeavors, while perhaps not significant in terms of "relevant political action," were quite impressive in relation to the puny resources committed.

These cases illustrate one of the basic principles of an organic communication system: the communicator's intensity of conviction is the critical factor in his effectiveness (persuasiveness). The objective value of the propositions advocated is comparatively irrelevant, particularly as it is not susceptible to any scientific measurement.

Government agencies and the organic system: There is another important reason for recommending an organic communication system—not as a substitute for the existing one, but as a coequal auxiliary. If political communication activities are to be expanded in volume—as they must be if we are to achieve substantial results—that expansion should not simply take the form of a bigger and better government agency. A huge ministry of propaganda would be both inadequate and undesirable. Such a centralized agency might be a suitable instrument for spreading a dogmatic and codified doctrine. In this sense Dr. Goebbels' Propagandaministerium was an organic body, since its structure and discipline reflected the character of the Nazi movement. But when the subject of communication is to be a vast body of thought which might be described, for want of a better term, as "the philosophy of Western civilization," the use of a huge centralized bureaucracy for its propagation would constitute a basic contradiction. Any attempt to spread an essentially pluralistic culture through a single agency of one government would be a denial of the very philosophy we are advocating, as well as a psychological blunder. It would be a violation of the principles of organic communication.

Vast expansion of the USIA to handle these new activities would place an undesirable official stamp on them. Moreover, political action in the field requires personal initiative and a readiness for risk taking which are not characteristics commonly associated with bureaucracies. That is why increasing the budget of the USIA many times over and giving its Director equal status with the Secretary of State would not solve the

real problem of bringing the third arm of strategy up to full strength.

Effective political action, especially in the long-range strategic sphere, must take the form of advocacy. Mere distribution of information, even selected and slanted, is not enough. "From this view of the nature of

<sup>10</sup> This is one of the reasons why civil servants are generally inappropriate for this purpose: they may be passionate believers, but their first allegiance is to official policies; they are not free to act in accordance with the intensity of their convictions.

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foreign policy, and of the psychological instrument of statecraft," one commentator has noted, "it follows that the 'information' approach to psychological operations is woefully insufficient."<sup>11</sup> The tactical and medium-range activities of the USIA should be continued and even expanded, but they can never substitute for true political action of a more basic nature. In any case, no Government agency can openly engage in political action abroad; international law is explicit in prohibiting such activity by governments.<sup>12</sup>

The inappropriateness of advertising techniques: The other standard suggestion for strengthening U.S. psychological operations, that we use advertising techniques in selling our political philosophy to other nations, is potentially even more harmful and reflects a profound misunderstanding of the whole issue. Because commercial advertising bears some superficial resemblance to political communication, its practitioners conclude that the two are interchangeable. The differences between them, however, are more significant than their similarities. Furthermore, the cost of using advertising techniques on a world scale would be prohibitive, and high-pressure campaigns might well evoke adverse reactions. This approach would be the least organic of all. "Advertising men have their function—on the American scene and inside the American economy. But the world situation calls for a totally different type of professionals. Political propaganda, a task of extraordinary complexity, requires intellectuals, scholars, specialists, and—in the final analysis—political philosophers."<sup>13</sup>

#### SOME ADVANTAGES OF THE ORGANIC SYSTEM

In summing up the shortcomings of the U.S. effort in the field of political communication, John B. Whitton points to: (1) the lack of clear objectives; (2) the lack of confidence in our efforts; and (3) the purely defensive character of our efforts.<sup>14</sup> Although Whitton was referring to the entire communication effort, his observations are particularly applicable to long-range ideological conversion. All three areas of weakness could be bolstered by a program of organic communication, based on the better utilization of existing intellectual and spiritual resources.

The causes for these major areas of weakness are not difficult to find. The first is related to the commonly heard argument that we have no single great idea to sell,

hence our efforts tend to be reactive and defensive. "Our policy has been too negative, its programs and slogans almost always a mere response, or reaction, to the more imaginative initiatives of the Soviets. Hence, it is claimed, we have been unable to provide for the West the inspiration and leadership the situation demands and our great strength warrants."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, in a democracy, a governmental propaganda strategy is unlikely to have clear objectives for these might offend certain sections of domestic political opinion. Official objectives must be phrased in a manner acceptable to all domestic political factions, and as a result they often become so watered down that they lose their attraction for the peoples of other cultures.

These are all very real obstacles. While one may argue that freedom and democracy are ideas or ideologies that can be articulated and packaged for distribution abroad, these concepts often appear vague and irrelevant to the target audience. One solution is to give these ideas more concrete form through person-to-person contact: this becomes the task of the private political communicator. While he must serve the interests of national policy formulated by the President, the political communicator must also have the freedom to interpret broad national policies and goals, and to go far beyond official statements in explaining the "American way of life." Private organizations devoted to political communication can set themselves clear objectives and, unhampered by official connection with the Government, they can afford to be more candid in pursuing these objectives than can our public servants.

The lack of confidence in our efforts, which Whitton lists as the second failing, is due largely to the absence of clear objectives and the limited achievements to date of the American propaganda effort. If a private political communication organization were permitted to establish its own objectives, select its own method of operation and subdivide the overall task into a number of separate endeavors, this obstacle might not seem so formidable. A private association, selecting a limited number of targets in a specific territory, would be more likely to give its members a tangible sense of accomplishment than a government agency which endeavors to do everything everywhere and thereby dilutes its efforts to the point where they become largely ineffective. Unlike civil servants inhibited by their official responsibility, private communicators would not confine themselves to purely defensive tactics. The morale of troops in the field is always at its highest in offensive action, at this lowest in holding operations. The private organization would be composed of individuals selected to propagate abroad a coherent set of ideas which they hold very strongly. Some object that convinced political communicators will be hard to find;

<sup>11</sup> Robert T. Holt, "A New Approach to Political Communication," in "Propaganda and the Cold War," op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> L. John Martin, "International Propaganda, Its Legal and Diplomatic Control" (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), pp. 62-108.

<sup>13</sup> Saul K. Padover in the American Scholar, April 1951.

<sup>14</sup> John B. Whitton, "The American Effort Challenged," in "Propaganda and the Cold War," op. cit.

<sup>15</sup> Whitton, op. cit.

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if that is true, then it would seem that American ideas are hardly worth propagating abroad and we face eventual defeat on the ideological level. But the assumption here is that many Americans do feel strongly enough about their political heritage to serve as propagandists.

The defensive character of the American communication effort—the third weakness—is largely due to the restraints of governmental action. A separation between long-range ideological conversion and current U.S. foreign policy would remove this handicap. The ban on political initiative, implicit in diplomacy, tends to discourage some of our ablest civil servants and contributes to the second failing—lack of confidence in our effort. The situation bears an analogy to the loss of morale in the U.S. Air Force resulting from the ban on crossing the Yalu River during the Korean war. The Government is, of course, justified in forbidding its civil servants to adopt an offensive political posture. Since they are representatives of the U.S. Government, their statements are subject to close scrutiny abroad and serious complications could follow any indiscretion. The problem, then, is not one of changing the operating rules of the existing agency, but of transferring those aspects of political communication in which it cannot engage to an instrument capable of doing so.

The organizational form for such a political communication instrument should be kept as flexible as possible. Various groups may be formed for the purpose of spreading particular aspects of American political thought or culture, or for working in specific countries and among different types of persons. As purely private organizations, without official status, they would be able to integrate closely with local communities. They should not isolate themselves in the international compounds of capital cities. They would have to be accepted by the local populace or quit. The members might not necessarily be American citizens, and they would not have to be screened as closely as government employees. This would involve no risk, since the security problems that exist in tactical and medium-range strategic psychological operations are not present in long-range ideological communication. Communicators need not have access to any classified information, nor would they require any knowledge of overall plans. Their activity would be wholly overt and involve no secrecy. There should be no connection between persuaders and intelligence collectors, for their tasks are clearly incompatible. It is always possible that in some countries propagandists may be suspected of espionage. To avoid such charges, they should be kept completely clear of any compromising contacts.

Under such a loosely organized system some errors might occur occasionally, through incompetence or excess of zeal. However, their importance should not be

overrated in weighing the immense advantages of an organic communication system. Since the members of private organizations working in the field would have no official status, any faux pas they might commit would be no more compromising than those of an ordinary tourist. Civil servants, including the personnel of information services, may be guilty of few flagrant faults, but their official capacity permits of even fewer conspicuous achievements. The Soviet Government dissociates itself from Communist propaganda activities abroad very simply, by subordinating the Agitprop to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, rather than to the Government of the U.S.S.R.<sup>16</sup> The distinction appears purely academic, but in practice it provides an effective shield.

An organic system of communication would also avoid the tendency of all bureaucracies to spend as much time and energy in reporting to headquarters as in performing their primary functions. In a flexible organization, run on the lines of a fraternal association rather than on those of a government bureau, there would be little need for voluminous reports and ratings, and persons evaluating the performance of others will have worked in the field themselves. This is an important point, for in the sphere of communication few objective yardsticks of achievement are available.

#### WHY AN ORGANIC SYSTEM WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE

The operation of an organic communication system with specific missions allocated to separate groups might be compared to illuminating a distant target with beams of coherent light emitted by a laser. Each laser beam uses a single wavelength and a single color, permitting far greater concentration of energy and more accurate aiming of the beam than is possible with a beam of ordinary diffused light, comprised of all colors mixed together. Thus a program devoted to a single set of ideas will more readily find its target than an ideologically amorphous campaign aimed at everyone and hitting nobody. When a target is struck simultaneously by many single-color beams of coherent light, the illumination will be better than if it had been lighted from a single source of diffused, so-called white light. Moreover, it will be possible to avoid the transmission losses of diffused light which did not hit the target at all. The overall efficiency between the energy input and the amount of light received at the target will be many times greater when laser beams are used. The same is true in the propagation of thought: the penetration force of well-defined "coherent" concepts is greater than that of nebulous and diffused ones, and the sum of these concepts will convey greater meaning than generalized ideas can. The

<sup>16</sup> See Evron M. Kirkpatrick, editor, "Target: The World" (New York: Macmillan, 1956).

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difference, as in optics, is in employing a method of transmission which avoids excessive losses.

The importance of using a specific approach, clearly defined both as to content and target area, is particularly great when the amount of energy available for input and the choice of objectives are limited. One of the major shortcomings of advertising techniques when applied to political persuasion is the relatively indiscriminate character of their appeal. The number of potential purchasers of soap or cigarettes may almost coincide with the total population, but the number of persons wielding political influence does not. That is why the use of mass appeal in foreign action is doubly misdirected: it seldom affects the majority and is likely to miss the vital minority.

A specialized organization with clearly defined and limited objectives is better equipped to reach its particular target—those persons who are likely to be receptive to the ideas which it propagates. Such an approach may result ultimately in the establishment of close links between groups of people in different countries. Societies for international friendship in general founder in a flood of pious declarations and clichés. Associations for friendship between two nations sometimes do better, though they also tend to specialize in platitudes and lofty speechmaking. But associations devoted to promoting cooperation and friendly relations between two nations in a specific field of thought or action are more likely to achieve tangible results. If they exist in sufficient numbers, such operational and binational organizations can accomplish, cumulatively, far more than worldwide associations dedicated to furthering the brotherhood of man. If a small proportion of the economic aid now given to foreign governments were channeled through such bodies, the political effectiveness of U.S. aid programs would be vastly increased.

An organic communication system would foster the establishment of a greater number of such specific links between well-defined groups in different countries. As in an atomic pile where no chain reaction occurs until the number of neutrons emitted reaches a critical level, so in a target area undergoing psychological penetration the reaction will not become self-sustaining until the paths of the diverse and apparently random messages begin to intersect each other in sufficient numbers. In the absence of mathematical formulas dealing with the prerequisites for a psychopolitical chain reaction, we have to rely on empirical observation and a study of recorded cases. It is clear, however, that by whatever method we might measure it, the political radiation we are now emitting is far from the level necessary for starting a chain reaction.

#### USE OF EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

Organizations carrying out programs compatible with an organic communication sys-

tem already exist, but the scale of their activities is too limited for an accurate evaluation of results. Furthermore, they now operate on a random, ad hoc basis; within the framework of an organic system they would be given specific missions.

A typical example of such an organization is the Center for Christian Democratic Action in New York, which endeavors to promote Christian Democracy in Latin America. It is a private body, staffed by Americans, Europeans and Latin Americans, and enjoying some support from American foundations. Christian Democracy has the advantage of being a genuine ideology with a positive content, rather than merely a reaction against communism. It did not originate in the United States, and is therefore free from association with "Yanqui imperialism," but it has behind it the authority of strong parties in Western Europe. It also has the support of important sections of public opinion in Latin America. Support given to Christian Democracy in Latin America may provide a better antidote to communism than some openly pro-American activities. This does not mean, however, that other deserving movements should not also be encouraged. If only one party were supported, it would soon be labeled the "pro-American party," with all the adverse consequences of such a designation. One of the weaknesses of a government agency is that its rigid policy lines and its official character may make it difficult to back simultaneously several movements competitive with each other. Yet such apparent inconsistency might be the wisest course in some situations.

American labor organizations have already entered the international field, endeavoring to promote their ideology. One could imagine the National Association of Manufacturers doing the same for the philosophy of free enterprise, the American Bar Association for the rule of law, the American Legion for cooperation with veterans, and so on. The fact that the activities of these private bodies might be overlapping and even to some extent contradictory would not detract from their effectiveness. On the contrary, the variety of viewpoints would reflect the pluralistic nature of a free society, while the consensus of all on basic issues would illustrate the possibility of combining free expression with national solidarity. Such an approach, diametrically opposed to the monolithic Communist method, would convey the American message not only through its actual content, but also through the manner of its communication.

The director of an organic communication system would use specific ideological programs, selected for their force of penetration as well as their content, to create a mental picture even as an artist uses pigments to create a painting. Inevitably, such a picture would become meaningful only in the overall perspective. Its pattern would then emerge from the apparently jumbled juxtaposition of colors. Conventional communication, on

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the other hand, paints a single-color image in which the overall pattern is constantly repeated in miniature.

The presence in a foreign country of a number of American-inspired communication organizations, each handling a separate aspect of political, social, cultural or technical activity, and each pursuing its own aims yet remaining in basic harmony with the others, would be a most convincing scale-model demonstration of the practical working of a free society. This accomplishment could never be duplicated by the Communists, and that would be its most valuable feature.

We would commit a major error if we tried to use Communist methods in reverse, merely substituting white for black and vice versa. The use of entirely original methods, reflecting the character and way of life of the United States, would place the Communists on the defensive.

In military strategy there is often the temptation to build a replica of the type of force with which we are threatened, instead of concentrating on a type of force which the enemy could not easily duplicate or defend against. So in psychological warfare the subconscious desire to match the opposition exactly in methods and tactics is always present. The greatest strength of the United States in opposition to communism lies not—as is sometimes assumed—in its superior material resources, but rather in the ability of its people to work together in harmony in the midst of many differences. A visible demonstration of that capacity for cooperation and for releasing individual energies within a diversified, flexible communication system, working through a variety of channels for a broad common purpose, would be more impressive to foreign observers than mere declarations of principle.

An example of the efficiency of the organic method of communication is provided by the international editions of Reader's Digest, which supply an estimated 30 million readers with material likely to strengthen their loyalty to the West and open their eyes to the deceptions of communism. It is possible that the international editions of the Reader's Digest, which cost the taxpayers nothing, contribute as much to the understanding of the American idea abroad as all the publications of the U.S. Government specifically designed for foreign readers. Precisely because it is not primarily a propaganda medium, the Reader's Digest carries conviction and secures paying readers.

Many other American periodicals could be adapted for foreign readers merely by eliminating subjects of purely domestic interest. They could provide a communication medium far superior to the pamphlets specially produced for that purpose. A system of subsidies permitting leading magazines to put out foreign editions would be less costly than trying to produce special publications. The identity of a well-established American pe-

riodical gives it an authority which a propaganda pamphlet does not possess. The Spanish editions of some American magazines prove the feasibility of such operations. One can only wonder why this has not already been done on an adequate scale.

While it would be undesirable to try to imitate Communist methods, any communication effort counteracting the Communist offensive would have to match it in sheer volume of operations.<sup>17</sup> International Communist front groups claim a membership running into hundreds of millions; international broadcasting originating in Communist countries totals 1,672 hours weekly; 29,736,000 copies of books in free world languages were published in the U.S.S.R. in 1954; and Communist Parties in Western Europe alone claim a membership of over 3 million.<sup>18</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

The vast scale and diverse nature of the operations required rules out the single government agency approach. Experience has demonstrated that Government bureaus become unmanageable beyond a certain size and that further increases in personnel fail to produce a corresponding increase in useful output. If, as has been suggested, the single information agency were to become an appendage of the State Department, confusion would be further compounded.

The Government agency responsible for directing the overall strategy of political communication should be a supervisory, not an operating, body. Its function would be to set targets and offer some degree of guidance, without attempting to perform the actual task in the field. Such an agency, whatever its status within the structure of Government, should have a small staff of senior experts, but no operating branches. It would differ entirely in purpose and character from the USIA as it exists today and it should not be associated with it, either in personnel or in operational patterns.

Recognition of the inherent inability of any governmental body to undertake certain types of political action and transfer of this work to organizations capable of doing so would represent a real turning point in our political communications procedure. The point of contact between such organizations and the Government would be narrow, but vital. There is ample precedent for private bodies receiving Government grants for the performance of specific duties, such as research or education. Once it is recognized

<sup>17</sup> One expert, George Gallup, had this to say about the cost of an American psychological warfare program: "Some years ago I had suggested to a senatorial committee that \$5 billion spent on today's tanks, guns and battleships will make far less difference in achieving ultimate victory over communism than \$5 billion appropriated for ideological warfare." "The Challenge of Ideological Warfare," in "Propaganda and the Cold War," op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> Kirkpatrick, op. cit.

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that international communication at the long-range ideological level should not be a function only of the Federal Government, suitable ways and means of supporting it will evolve, and the Government will still have a large measure of control over the recipients of such support.

An organic communication system such as the one roughly sketched here is, by its very nature, incompatible with crash programs. It has to be built up gradually, starting in the case of each project with an idea or a definite objective, not with a readymade organization. Since the individual projects, by reason of their specialized nature, cannot be very large, the overall effect can only be attained by multiplying their number.

The effectiveness of such an approach will not become evident until the sum of all the

individual endeavors reaches proportions comparable to those of official operations in the same sphere. Although no accurate measurements are possible in this field, it is clear that an organic system would give a higher return on the investment of human and material resources than an inert one. Furthermore, the results of its operation are more permanent and can become self-sustaining. Any communication effort without a built-in capacity for self-propagation is futile. In this respect, the organic system might be compared to cloud-seeding operations which use a few pounds of silver iodide to release thousands of tons of rain, while the conventional method resembles a project which sends up aircraft with tanks full of water to sprinkle the countryside with imitation showers.

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**STATEMENT OF RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY LT. COL. FLOYD OLES, U.S. ARMY RESERVE (RETIRED)**

Colonel OLES. I am Colonel Oles. We have a statement which we would like to have your permission to submit.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you want to present testimony in opposition?

Colonel OLES. No, sir; we would like to submit a statement for the record.

Mr. ICHORD. You represent?

Colonel OLES. The Reserve Officers Association.

Mr. ICHORD. If there be no objection permission is granted to include such statement in the record of the next hearings.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel OLES. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee is recessed until the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., Thursday, April 1, 1965, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 84, 85.



**HEARINGS RELATING TO H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215,  
H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, AND H.R. 6700,  
PROVIDING FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM COMMISSION  
AND FREEDOM ACADEMY**

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**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1965**

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

**PUBLIC HEARINGS**

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 313A, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; and Del Clawson, of California.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord and Clawson.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

This meeting is a continuation of a hearing on the eight Freedom Academy bills now pending before this committee. I believe last year we had a total of 7 days' hearings on the bills, which hearings will be regarded as a part of the record of this year.

So far this year we have had 2 days of hearings.

Mr. Director, what was the date of the last hearing on the Freedom Academy bill?

Mr. McNAMARA. About 3 weeks ago. I believe it was April 1 or 2. I am not certain.

Mr. ICHORD. Our first scheduled witness this morning was the majority whip, Mr. Boggs of Louisiana, who has introduced one of the bills dealing with the Freedom Academy. It is my understanding that Mr. Boggs will not be able to appear this morning before the committee. Another date will be arranged for him.

Before calling our witness today, I would like to place a number of documents in the record.

**STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN LEGION BY DANIEL J. O'CONNOR**

Mr. ICHORD. First, I would like to insert in the record a statement in support of the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy concept by Daniel J. O'Connor, chairman of the National Americanism Commission of The American Legion.

This statement reiterates official American Legion support of the Freedom Academy, first given in its name by Mr. O'Connor when he testified at the hearings last year.

If there be no objection that will be placed in the record of the hearings.

(Mr. O'Connor's statement follows:)

#### STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN LEGION BY DANIEL J. O'CONNOR

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee :

Inasmuch as testimony was submitted to your committee during the second session of the 88th Congress on similar legislation and since the position of The American Legion remains unchanged, we are submitting for the record the statement which was made last year.

As the distinguished members of this committee know, The American Legion has, since its very beginning, been cognizant of the Communist menace. In fact, the militancy of Americanism expressed by the founders and early organizers of the The American Legion drew such wrath from the advance guard of communism in this country—the Industrial Workers of the World—that the latter shot down, in cold blood, American Legionnaires marching in the first Armistice Day parade in Centralia, Washington. That was in 1919, even as the young American Legion was perfecting its organization at its first National Convention in Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 10–12, 1919.

Forty-five years ago the basic tenets of communism may have been generally understood by a considerable portion of our population. Today, however, the complexities of Communist plans and activities have grown to such proportions that scarcely one in a thousand Americans has a mental grasp of Communist machinations. Of course, all of us, through the news media of the Nation, are familiar with the known Communist successes such as in Cuba, and elsewhere. But how to thwart communistic encroachments, before the fact, is a problem which we seem unable to solve.

While I feel certain the members of this committee recognize the long hard fought battle which The American Legion has waged against communism since the Centralia massacre, there can be no denial that there have been changes in the techniques of political and psychological warfare. Centuries ago a question was posed to the brilliant scholar, Francis Xavier, namely: "What doth it profit a man if he gains the whole world and suffers the loss of his own soul?" Might I paraphrase that question in pointing to the tremendous armed might of our country, the greatest Nation on earth, and say, "What doth it profit the United States of America to have the greatest atomic power for both peace and war if the United States of America is robbed of its own soul?"

In the past 17 years millions have been encircled and their lives regimented under the yoke of Moscow or Peiping because of a poison that has been administered in slow, measured, but lethal doses to humankind, in all parts of the globe. The incontrovertible but sad reality is that, without firing a single weapon, the masters of Communist propaganda have been proliferate, not only in the Far East but in our own hemisphere.

There is no committee of the Congress that has performed a greater public service than the House Committee on Un-American Activities in marshaling the various sources of information reflecting the pattern of infiltration, not only in Latin America, Panama, and Cuba, but also within the confines of our own geography. There is no task more painstaking or more difficult than the burden shouldered by this committee in probing the influence of communism in our own society. Your committee and staff labor under constant threat of liquidation, not by members of the Communist Party alone, but by Americans who recognize the congressional power of inquiry for every subject under the sun except the exposé of the Communist conspiracy. What I would like you to understand and appreciate is that we in The American Legion who have consistently supported the creation of a Freedom Academy have also supported the duly constituted committees of the Congress whose findings and publications serve to spotlight the uncanny aggressors for the minds of men.

In giving our wholehearted support for the creation of the Freedom Academy, we cannot help but emphasize that the greatest care must be exercised that this new beacon of liberty shall never become, in even the smallest part, a haven for anyone who professes a belief in our way of life and yet performs brilliantly for the proponents of world socialism.

Lest you think for one moment that I have introduced a strange note amid splendid testimony offered to your committee during the 88th Congress, 2nd session, by the Honorable Hale Boggs, majority whip from Louisiana, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University professor, and many other distinguished Americans, please understand that we in The American Legion share the dismay and disappointment of many who believe the cold war has achieved some measure of success in the United States.

We have also witnessed the replacement of a program dedicated to the men of our armed forces on Veterans Day, 1962, with comment and appraisal by a convicted perjurer passing judgment on the political fortunes of a man who served as United States Senator and Vice President of the United States. While the producers of the program are not accused of having Communist sympathies, leftwing leanings, etc., there can be no question about the bad taste exercised in that decision. Why do things like this happen? Why was America's fighting man relegated to oblivion?

What is there on the American scene which causes the cancellation of a tribute to the American fighting man and substitutes instead an attack on a war veteran who held high public office by a perjurer who is given a television podium in a vain effort to restore his respectability. This is only one example of the erosion of patriotism. Only last week at a private school in East Williston, Long Island, American boys and girls from upper middle class families refused to salute the flag of the United States. No accusation is made against the faculty of the school, but what has happened in the fabric of American education which causes this debasement of our traditional salute to the flag and our love for that for which it stands. Perhaps, the "cross-fertilization of ideas" pursued in a division of research for the private sector of our society will, in the Freedom Academy, give some clue to the problem.

In my experience as a lawyer who handled the Security Risk Inquiry in the City of New York, I feel that I can make a personal observation on this program that terminated about 6 years ago. If it was shocking to learn that engineers and others educated in our colleges and universities had joined the apparatus of the Communist Party and their activities remained undetected for years, then is it not of paramount importance that the greatest possible security measures be taken to insure against the possibility of the Freedom Academy itself being infiltrated by anyone tutored by the great masters of deceit? During the 2nd session of the 88th Congress Congressman Boggs pointed out quite properly that the work of the Freedom Academy in no way pre-empt the work of the FBI or the CIA. He stated that what is intended is to "use affirmatively of the great reservoir of talent that we have in the United States to show what the free system and what a free society can do," but also remarked "I have no preconceived notions of how this Academy should be set up." Concededly, however, this is a most important corollary to the passage of this legislation, namely, the staffing of the Academy.

While The American Legion is deeply concerned about the competence of Americans who officially represent the United States, both here and abroad, our support of the Freedom Academy would also embrace the area of research for the vast sector of Americans engaged in the war of ideas who are not on the public payroll. We believe the many who are engaged in stemming the tide of Communist propaganda which has poured into this country by the ton must be encouraged, enlightened and strengthened. Finally, we commend the Freedom Academy to your consideration. We believe its success will be measured by its service to God and country in a recognition of the basic discipline and spiritual values which have made the United States the greatest nation on earth.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I ask that the attached American Legion 1964 Convention Resolution, No. 270, be made a part of the record, following my statement. In behalf of The American Legion, and myself personally, I thank you for the opportunity of placing this statement in the record.

FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, DALLAS, TEXAS, SEPTEMBER 22-24, 1964

RESOLUTION No. 270.

COMMITTEE: Americanism.

SUBJECT: The Freedom Academy.

Whereas, The United States is preparing to defend its national interests in coming years, faces grave and complex problems in the non-military as well as military areas; and

*Whereas*, To further fortify and meet the preparation of that defense, there has been introduced into the Senate of the United States by Senator Karl Mundt, Senate Bill No. 414, designed to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy, to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the non-military capabilities of the United States in the global struggle between freedom and Communism, to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge and also to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions; Now, therefore, be it *Resolved*, By The American Legion in National Convention assembled in Dallas, Texas, September 22-24, 1964, that we hereby announce our full and complete agreement with the said Senate Bill No. 414 and urge its adoption by the Congress of the United States.

## **STATEMENT OF RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY LT. COL. FLOYD OLES, U.S. ARMY RESERVE (RETIRED)**

Mr. ICHORD. I would also like to insert in the record, a letter from Mr. Floyd Oles, Lt. Colonel, U.S. Army (Retired), expressing the support of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States for the Freedom Academy concept. The Reserve Officers Association, which has formally expressed its support of the Freedom Academy idea for a number of years, also submitted a statement for inclusion in the record of the 1964 hearings. If there be no objection the letter from Mr. Oles will be placed in the record.

(Col. Oles' letter follows:)

RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
THE CONGRESSIONAL HOTEL,  
300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C., 20003, April 8, 1965.

The HONORABLE EDWIN E. WILLIS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,*  
*House of Representatives,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Permit me first to express the appreciation of our Association for the privilege, granted by the Honorable Richard H. Ichord, as Chairman of your subcommittee having under consideration the matter of a "Freedom Academy", to present a statement in support of that proposal, as outlined in several bills now under consideration by that subcommittee.

We submitted last year a copy of a resolution in support of the "Freedom Commission Act", as adopted by our 34th National Convention in New York City on July 1, 1960. That resolution appears on page 1420 of the hearings held in February and in May last year. That resolution continues to be a mandate of our Association, and has been re-affirmed in various succeeding national meetings of the organization. In view of the different numbers of the bills now before you, it has seemed to us best simply to re-affirm in principle our support for legislation on this subject, as now before you.

It was my privilege to author the original resolution of our Association on this subject, adopted at our National Convention held at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in June of 1958. In general, the spirit and intent of that resolution is embodied in the bills now before you. It is our desire to have your records show that we are still, as we were in 1958, wholeheartedly in favor of the proposal to create a "Freedom Academy" along the lines set forth in the current bills.

In our extended discussion on this subject at various national meetings it has become clear that there are two primary reasons for our active support of this legislation. First, we are convinced that such an establishment could go far to correct the situation where this Nation seeks to counter professional propaganda and subversion by the use of sporadic and amateur efforts. Secondly, and as a corollary, it seems clear to us that, until we can develop the professional skills which are the objective of the "Freedom Academy", we shall continue to be on the defensive, rather than taking the offensive in a field where the facts of the current world situation provide us ample support for an intelligently directed "cold war" offensive. We feel that it is only by this means that we can substitute

positive action in this field for the belated and ineffectual reaction which has been our only response thus far to the continuing Communist initiative in matters of propaganda and subversion.

We have listened with keen interest to the hearings conducted by your subcommittee, and in particular to the very scholarly and well documented statements made of late by Senator Mundt. We find ourselves heartily in agreement with Senator Mundt and the others who are supporting him in this legislative effort.

Since delay can only contribute further to our existing inferiority in this important field of "cold war" strategy, we would also urge that the subject matter is something which calls for early and favorable action by your committee.

Permit us once more to thank you for the opportunity of submitting this statement.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ Floyd Oles,  
FLOYD OLES, Lt. Col. USAR-Ret.,  
Vice Chairman, Committee on Retirement.

Mr. ICHORD. Finally, the chairman of the committee, the Honorable Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, who unfortunately found it impossible to attend the hearings this morning, has asked me to read a statement which he had prepared for today.

I will read the brief statement of the chairman of the full committee. This is the statement by Mr. Willis:

I would also like to insert in the record at this point the text of a document on existing Communist political warfare schools which was prepared by the Department of State last year at the request of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

It is entitled *A Survey of Sino-Soviet Bloc Political Training Establishments for Free World Nationals*.

The committee requested that the State Department furnish it with a list of all such schools which, to the knowledge of the Department, were then in operation and also an approximation of the number of graduates turned out by the schools each year, the length of time they spent in the schools, the countries or areas from which they are recruited, and any other related data it could provide.

Because the content of this document will, I believe, be of interest to the members of the committee who are here, to the witnesses present, and all others in the hearing room, I would like to summarize its contents briefly.

The very first paragraph reads as follows:

The Communist Parties of the Sino-Soviet Bloc are currently giving extensive training to Free World Communists in the operational doctrines, techniques, and major functional programs of political action and political warfare. This training is a strategically important Bloc "export," contributing to the promotion of revolution and attempts to seize power throughout the world.

The next point made in the introduction to this study is that the document cannot be considered exhaustive. Much Communist political warfare training, it points out, is carried on secretly and there is, therefore, a very real possibility that the Communists have successfully concealed "particularly sensitive political training projects."

Furthermore, it is noted, the report contains no information at all—for obvious reasons—about the Communists' most carefully guarded aspect of political warfare training,

namely, that given by the intelligence services of the Communist bloc to their agents.

The report also points out that it does not include information on the extensive military training programs and the paramilitary and guerrilla training projects provided by various Communist governments. It notes that even guided tours for cultural groups and sports enthusiasts are utilized for political purposes by the Communists and that all conventional universities in Communist bloc countries are Marxist-Leninist in orientation and thus utilized for political goals.

By spelling out these varied aspects of Communist cold war operations and training which it does *not* cover, the report emphasizes the tremendous scope of Communist training in all forms of nonmilitary techniques designed to subvert the free world.

By way of summary, here are some of the high points in the report:

There are at least seven schools of political warfare operating in the Soviet Union, nine in East Germany, nine in Cuba, four in Czechoslovakia, three in Hungary, and two in Bulgaria. In addition, it is known that political warfare schools exist in Communist China. The number, however, is not known.

There are so-called Higher Party Schools in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany, all of which have some foreign students.

The Higher Party School in the Soviet Union has about 1,500 students per year, about half of which come from other nations and 300 of which are from the free world. The courses vary in length from 1 year to 4 years.

There is an international school for non-bloc Communists in the Soviet Union. It handles about 250 students a year. They come from all over the world, the largest number from Latin America. The courses they take vary from 6 months to 2 years.

Red China has specialized in the training of Latin American and African Communists. From 1958 to 1961 it had a very ambitious Latin American program. It is still training some Latin Americans, though not as many as in the past. The training has included guerrilla warfare, and some of it has been devoted exclusively to paramilitary activity. The political warfare schools in Red China have stressed clandestine party work and organizational work with mass groups.

Peking has also run a special training course for Africans. Students taking this course do not have to be party members. In 1960, the course included not only political ideology, but also guerrilla warfare and sabotage. Two thirds of the course was devoted to training in weapons and military strategy, the use of explosives, and sabotage techniques, and one third was devoted to Communist ideology and how to introduce Communist organizations and influence into rural areas.

The Cuban picture is roughly as follows:



In 1961 there was an enrollment of approximately 18,830 students in political warfare schools in Cuba. In 1962 the figure jumped to 36,487. There are Higher Party Schools, plus a school for labor leaders, one for teachers, and one for local security personnel. Five additional schools are dedicated to the training of Communist leaders, functionaries, and activists.

There are also provincial and basic schools and programs for guerrilla warfare and paramilitary training. Students from other Latin American countries study at these schools. Their exact number, however, is not known.

Of special interest, I believe, is the fact that in the last few years, according to this State Department document, three special schools for journalists have been established behind the Iron Curtain.

One, set up in 1961, is located in the Roztez Castle near Prague, Czechoslovakia. It is called the Study Center of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists. Students include Asians, Latin Americans, and Africans, with emphasis on the latter. The speciality of this school is training personnel to staff the national press agencies of African countries. The third class to go through this school completed its 6 months' course in May 1963. It included 30 students from six different countries and brought to 50 the number of students trained for Communist work in sub-Saharan and Arab Africa.

Another journalist school, called the School of Solidarity for the Training of African Journalists, has been set up in the East Berlin suburb of Buckow. The first formal class was graduated from this school in November 1963. It included 20 young Africans from eight countries. In earlier, less formal training during the years 1961 and 1962, 16 Africans from eight different countries went through this school.

There is also a Communist political warfare school for journalists in Hungary called the International Center for the Training of Journalists. It is located in Budapest. Its students include Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans. The school is operated under the auspices of the International Organization of Journalists, Moscow's worldwide Communist front for newspaper people.

Many persons have been disturbed in the past few years by the evidence of Communist influence in the rising revolutionary tide in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The highlights of the State Department's report on Communist schools of political warfare, which I have touched on, provide a strong clue to the origins of this Communist influence. It also indicates that the Communist bloc is doing everything possible to widen and strengthen this influence, that we will see additional evidence of it in the next few years, and that it is time for the United States and other free nations to recognize the increased Communist threat it faces in these areas and to adopt firm measures to counter them.

If there be no objection from you other members of the committee the report will be placed in toto in the record.

(The report follows:)

A Survey of Sino-Soviet Bloc Political Training  
Establishments for Free World Nationals

The Communist Parties of the Sino-Soviet Bloc are currently giving extensive training to Free World Communists in the operational doctrines, techniques, and major functional programs of political action and political warfare. This training is a strategically important Bloc "export", contributing to the promotion of revolution and attempts to seize power throughout the world.

This tabulation of the main schools and programs obviously cannot be considered exhaustive. On the one hand, since much of this training is carried on secretly, there is no assurance that particularly sensitive political training projects have not been successfully concealed. The most carefully guarded aspects of political warfare training--that given by the intelligence services of the Bloc to their agent personnel--has not been considered at all, for obvious reasons, in this survey.

On the other hand, the all-pervasive nature of the Communist approach to indoctrination and political action training affects to varying degrees the many varieties of nominally non-political education the Bloc states offer to visitors and guests from abroad. Professional education in philosophy and economics at conventional universities is obviously Marxist-Leninist in its conclusions; but even guided tours for sports enthusiasts and cultural groups are exploited to expose the amenable to ideas and precedents they may find useful in pursuing political goals. Finally, the extensive military training programs as well as the paramilitary and guerrilla training projects provided by various Bloc governments are not included in this survey except in the case of China.

The training described has been given since 1960 in schools run by the Communist Parties, by the Young Communist Leagues, by trade union, or by youth organizations, and professional bodies such as the national journalist associations. Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia all have been represented at these schools, by both Communist party members and non-members. So far, the USSR and East Germany have been most energetic in building these programs, with Czechoslovakia and Hungary next in line. China's role, vigorous during the earlier period, is obviously in a period of change as a

result of the Sino-Soviet Dispute. The overall program is not static; changes in program, and the development of new establishments are obviously occurring constantly; and the interest displayed by the Communist parties in deriving as much benefit as possible from these opportunities is still high.

## CHINA

1. Party Indoctrination and Guerrilla Warfare Schools

## a. For Latin American Communists

The CPC currently trains a limited number of Latin American Communists each year, with the trainees apparently drawn almost exclusively from pro-Chinese factions. For the time being the number of Latin American Communist trainees going to China is a mere trickle compared with the numbers who went during 1958-1961, when the CPC maintained an ambitious and organized program of training numerous Latin American Communists. The earlier program tapered off in the course of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The training is believed to be given in Peking.

The length of the average course for Latin American Communists appears to be about three months, with additional time spent in touring China.

The CPC training includes guerrilla warfare as well as political indoctrination, with most Latin American Communists apparently getting a combination of both. (In some special cases, however, the training may be almost exclusively in paramilitary activity.) The political indoctrination portion evidently includes the history of the CPC and its ideological development, plus Marxist-Leninist doctrine and how to put theory into practice. In the past the CPC was known to stress clandestine party work, and organizational work within different mass groups; these probably continue to receive emphasis.

## b. For Africans

A series of special training courses for Africans has been apparent. So far these courses appear to be held at irregular intervals. For the most part, the Africans who attend these special courses are not CP members or even particularly knowledgeable of Communism prior to the course.

The courses appear to last about 3-4 months.

The training does not all take place in Peking, but other location(s) used are not firmly identifiable.

The curriculum reported for a 1960 course for Africans is probably representative of subsequent training given to other Africans. The training involved guerrilla warfare, sabotage, and political ideology. About two-thirds of the course was devoted to explosives, sabotage techniques, weapon training, and military strategy. The final one-third of the training focused on Communist ideology and the methods of introducing Communist organizations and influence in rural areas.

Students from at least three African countries attended the 1960 course.

No information can be provided concerning specialized youth, trade union, or other functional training establishments in China.

## USSR

1. Party Ideological Schools

- a. Higher Party School of the CC/CPSU  
Miuskaya Square 6, Moscow

As many as 1500 students in one year have been reported at this school, although the average yearly enrollment may be slightly smaller. Soviet trainees are believed to number roughly one-half of the total student body.

In July 1960, the school announced that 437 persons had graduated that year, including a large number of party officials from fraternal CPs in socialist countries. This number is not believed to have included the free world Communists who were graduated.

In the past, an estimated 300 free world Communists attended the school each year. After the 1963 graduation, however, it was reported that no free world Communists would henceforth be enrolled at this school, and that separate facilities had been created for them. (See school b., below.) The Higher Party School is now said to be used exclusively for Soviet and bloc CP trainees.

Regular courses run for periods of one, two, three and even four years.

The curriculum stresses ideological training, including such subjects as economics, philosophy, history of the CPSU, party structure, economy of socialist countries, and history of national liberation movements. Study of the Russian language is also stressed.

Foreign students, all of whom must be CP members, have come from all areas of the world.

- b. International school for non-bloc Communists (exact name unknown)  
Moscow  
Believed to have commenced operations in 1962

At least 250 students are believed to attend each year.

Regular courses reportedly run for periods of six-months, one year, and two years. Two six-months courses are said to be given each school year, thus permitting more students to receive training each year.

The curriculum stresses ideological training but is apparently more realistic and specifically designed for free world CP members than was the case at the Higher Party School. Besides the Russian language, subjects studied include history of the CPSU, philosophy, political economy, and the theory and tactics of Communism. In addition, each student reportedly studies the political and economic situation of his own country.

Students are all CP members and are said to be members of non-bloc CPs only. CPs from all areas of the world have sent trainees to this school. Communists from Latin America are believed to have made up the largest single area group thus far.

- c. National group training school (no name known)  
Believed located just outside Moscow  
Established prior to 1960

Upon occasion, a group of trainees from one CP only, or from one country only, is enrolled in a separate training establishment. This establishment is probably administered by the Higher Party School. Apart from considerations of secrecy, creation of this special facility appears inspired by: (1) The development of CPSU projects that require giving ideological training to an unusually large number of trainees from one CP at a specified time; or (2) The necessity to give special attention to inexperienced and unsophisticated "emerging Communists" from a developing country where there is as yet no CP.

Illustrating the first case, during a four year period a total of 100 members of one Latin American CP alone reportedly received separate training. Their studies included political economics, philosophy, history of the CPSU, structure of the CPSU, international relations, and history of the labor movement.

Illustrating the second case, these facilities were reportedly used on one occasion for a group of about 30 Africans from one country. For over a year this

group received special political indoctrination and were taught organizational techniques. Their poor academic preparation reportedly was taken into account during the course.

- d. Regional party schools in USSR  
(e. g. Tashkent, Baku)

There are a few reported cases of foreign Communists being enrolled in regular courses at regional party schools. In the reported cases, the foreign Communists have been either Greek or Iranian nationals long resident in the USSR.

2. Youth School of the Party

Central Komsomol School  
Veshnyaki  
Prospekt Oktyabrskiy  
Moscow E. 402  
Established prior to 1960

This school is said to have a capacity for nearly 1,000 students. An estimated 300 foreign students, including those from other bloc countries, appear to be enrolled each year. No reliable statement of the number of non-bloc trainees can be given.

Courses for foreigners generally run for either six-months or twelve-months periods.

The curriculum provides what is virtually CP ideological training. It includes the study of the history of the CPSU, organization and work of the Komsomol, philosophy, political economy, and the Russian language.

This school enrolls non-CP youths as well as members of CP youth organizations; they receive their training together. Hence, the foreign students include a significant number of trainees from countries where no organized CP exists. In 1963, students from about 30 foreign countries were reported at the school, with about 10 African countries represented. All areas of the world sent students to the school.



3. Trade Union schools

Trade Union School of the All-Union Central Council of  
Trade Unions  
Moscow  
Established 1961

A course of about nine months is given for foreigners, combining instruction in Marxist doctrine with training in tactics to be employed in organizing and manipulating trade unions.

The first class was made up entirely of Africans. Subsequent classes, numbering as many as 100 each, have included, along with Africans, a few students from Asia and numerous Latin Americans. A class of this varied composition began in 1963, with another scheduled for 1964.

Other groups of trainees have from time to time been sent from overseas labor unions to the Soviet Union for less formal training of a few weeks' duration.

## BULGARIA

1. Party Ideological School

Higher Party School

Sofia

Established prior to 1960

It is believed that a few foreign Communists are enrolled from time to time in this school.

Paralleling the CPSU's Higher Party School, this school provides similar ideological training.

2. Trade Union Schools

Georgi Dimitrov Trade Union School

(Courses for foreigners have been given intermittently since 1960)

A one-year course is currently being presented. A class began in October 1963. Latin Americans are prominently included (including four from Cuba). A previous class was composed chiefly of Africans. Groups of trainees from the Arab countries have also been trained in Bulgaria.

CUBA

All ideological training within Cuba is organized and directed by the governing party through the National Directorate of Revolutionary Instruction, without the division of administrative responsibility already developed in the Soviet Bloc systems. Organized principally for Cubans, these schools--at least the key ones--enroll students from other Latin American countries as well. No estimate of the numbers of foreign students is possible at this time. The total enrollment in national, provincial, and basic schools, was 18,830 in 1961 and 36,487 in 1962.

1. Key National "Schools of Revolutionary Instruction"--1962

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Duration of courses</u>
a. "Nico Lopez"-- This school, intended eventually to be equivalent to bloc "Higher Party School", currently is supplemented by the training of Cubans in higher party schools elsewhere.	64	1	8 months
b. "Carlos Rodriguez"-- School for national and provincial labor leaders	105	2	5 months
c. "Juan Ronda"-- for defense committee (local security auxiliary force) members	210	1	3 months
d. "Ruben Bravo"-- for teachers	124	2	5 months

These key national schools are supplemented by five others that train functionaries, leaders, and activists for smaller functional groups and for work at the local level. Provincial and basic schools indoctrinate even larger groups of Cubans. These national schools do not include the programs for paramilitary and guerrilla training, in which some political indoctrination and training is known to be given.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1. Party Ideological School

Higher Party School  
Prague  
Established prior to 1960

It is believed that a few foreign Communists are enrolled from time to time in this school.

Paralleling the CPSU's Higher Party School, this school provides similar ideological training.

2. International Communist Seminar Facilities

Problems of Peace and Socialism (PPS) headquarters  
Prague

The editorial board of the international Communist publication, PPS, in Prague, sponsors, sometimes in conjunction with the Czechoslovakia party, international seminars on subjects of importance to all CPs. Participants from many CPs have also prepared detailed written contributions for use at these seminars. (Not all PPS-sponsored seminars are held in Prague, but the majority take place there.) The materials used are, once properly edited and compiled, published and distributed for use throughout the world in ideological training.

Some 1962-1963 seminars were on the following subjects: Building a United Anti-Imperialist Front; Socialist World System and the National Liberation Movement; Communists and Democracy; and Present Stage of the National Liberation Movement of the Arab Peoples.

3. Trade Union Schools

Central School of the Trade Union Federation (ROH) of Czechoslovakia  
Near Prague  
Course for foreign students established 1961

The first class for foreign students consisted of 25 from ten African and two Asian countries. The curriculum covered, in five weeks, the main phases of Communist theory and its application in practical terms to the developing countries. Subsequent classes have included, along with Africans, participants from Arab countries and from Latin America.

#### 4. Journalist Training

Study Center of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists  
Roztez Castle (near Prague)  
1961

At this location and elsewhere in Czechoslovakia training has been given, both in organized courses and through individual instruction, to young Latin Americans, Asians, and especially Africans. It is carried out largely through the Czechoslovak Press Agency (CTK).

A specialty has been the training of persons to staff new national press agencies in the African countries. The third class completed a six months course in May 1963. It was made up of some thirty students from six countries. This class brought to a total of fifty the number of journalists trained to work in sub-Saharan and Arab Africa.

The Czech Union of Journalists, in conjunction with the International Organization of Journalists (which also has its headquarters in Prague), has sponsored similar training of young Latin Americans on "scholarships" awarded for extended visits in Czechoslovakia. Details are not available.

## EAST GERMANY

1. Party Ideological Schools

- a. Karl Marx School of the SED  
East Berlin  
Established prior to 1960

It is believed that a few foreign Communists are enrolled from time to time in this school.

Paralleling the CPSU's Higher Party School, this school provides similar ideological training.

- b. School facilities provided to other CPs  
Bad Doberan, Greifswald, Rostock, Wismar, Oderberg  
Established prior to 1960

At the above locations the SED is reported to provide assistance and facilities for the party training of Communists from several other CPs, from principally those of Scandinavia. The program for the Nordic parties, which appears to take place chiefly at the first three locations above, is a continuing and regular venture. The use of facilities in East Germany is dictated in part at least by the belief that the students can thus be trained under more secure conditions.

Literally hundreds of foreign CP members have received training in these schools. A class of 30-50 from one CP is not unusual. There is no known mixing of students from different CPs.

The length of the courses is usually described as ranging from a few weeks to a few months (one of four months was reported). Often the schooling is given during the "vacations" of the CP members.

As part of the curriculum, SED instructors may lecture on the building of socialism in East Germany. Otherwise, the subjects taught are handled by instructors from the particular foreign CP. Subjects reportedly include political economy, problems of the workers' movement, and "party questions."

2. Youth School of the Party

Wilhelm Pieck Youth Academy  
Bernau am Bogensee  
(near East Berlin)  
Established prior to 1960

Over 100 free world students appear to be enrolled each year.

Courses for foreigners generally run for either six-months or twelve-months periods.

Like the CPSU's Komsomol school, the curriculum provides what is virtually CP ideological training. It includes the study of Marxism-Leninism, political economy, history of the CPSU, history of the German workers' movement, youth work of the Free German Youth and Young Pioneers, and history of the international labor movement.

The school enrolls non-CP youths as well as members of CP youth organizations. Students come from all areas of the world.

3. Trade Union Schooling

Fritz Heckert Academy of the Free German Federation of Trade Unions (Institute for Foreign Students)  
Bernau (near East Berlin)  
Established prior to 1960

Trainees have been accepted from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, both for lengthy periods (upwards of one year) and for briefer courses of a few weeks. As many as 175 have been trained in a single year for activity in labor organizations in Africa alone.

4. Journalist Training

School of Solidarity for the Training of African Journalists  
Buckow (suburb of East Berlin)  
Established November 1963

The first class at the new school consisted of some twenty young Africans from at least eight countries who were given a month's training in preparation for journalistic activity in their home countries.

This institution is directed by the Union of German Journalists, which has previously, on a less formally organized basis, provided training for Africans. Within a twelve-month span in 1961-62, sixteen Africans from eight countries were trained for periods of six to eight months.



HUNGARY

1. Party Ideological Schooling

No information of enrollment of foreign Communists in the Hungarian party school system is available.

2. Trade Union Schools

Trade Union School of the General Council of Hungarian Trade Unions  
Budapest  
Established before 1960

In addition to class instruction on theoretical and practical topics presented to trainees from a number of the less developed lands, a specialty has been to provide periods of observation and on-the-job training in Hungarian industries to further the career of invited foreign unionists.

3. Journalist Training

International Center for the Training of Journalists  
Budapest  
Established 1963

Under the auspices of the International Organization of Journalists (the international Communist front centered in Czechoslovakia) preparations were under way throughout 1963 for the opening of the school (including construction of a special building for instruction and for residential purposes) late in the year. Students were to come from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

## NORTH KOREA

1. Party Ideological Schooling

"Radio College of Marxism-Leninism"

Radio Pyongyang

A course in Marxism-Leninism is beamed to South Korea. According to an overt announcement, "Through a systematic study of lectures provided by the college, a person will acquire an education equivalent to that provided by one year courses in the Communist Institute in North Korea." Inaugurated in the spring of 1962, the course is specifically designed for a South Korean audience.

The announced subjects of the course are philosophy, political economics, scientific Communism, DPRK constitution, Korean history, history of the Korean Workers Party, and current political situations.

Mr. ICHORD. The first witness for today then will be Mr. Arthur Meyerhoff. Is Mr. Meyerhoff present? You may be seated, Mr. Meyerhoff.

The chairman of the committee, I might say to you, a few days ago received a letter from a former member of the Congress, the Honorable Clinton D. McKinnon, requesting that this committee give favorable consideration to your testimony. In his letter he referred to your deep concern about the Communist problem and mentioned the fact that after addressing the San Diego Rotary Club of 350 members a few weeks ago you received one of the greatest ovations the club has ever given a speaker.

The chairman has asked that I make this letter a part of the hearing record, and if there be no objection it will be made a part of the record.

It reads as follows:

Honorable Edwin E. Willis,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Congressman:

You may recall me as the Democratic Congressman from San Diego who entered the House for the 81st Congress—both of us “freshmen” together.

I am writing to ask your favorable consideration of the testimony Arthur Meyerhoff will give your Un-American Activities Committee this coming Wednesday, April 28th.

Mr. Meyerhoff is one of the highly respected persons in the advertising profession and, like many another businessman, is deeply concerned about this country's failure to measure up to the Commies in propaganda warfare.

Mr. Meyerhoff talked on this subject before our San Diego Rotary Club of 350 members a few weeks back and received one of the greatest ovations this club has ever given a speaker.

I am hopeful that what he advocates will make sense to you and your committee, for we appear to be losing out to the Commies in our “idea” warfare and a change is certainly indicated.

I hope things are well with you.

Cordially,

/s/ Clint

CLINTON D. MCKINNON.

Mr. Meyerhoff, I know you are the author of *The Strategy of Persuasion, the Use of Advertising Skills in Fighting the Cold War*. I might point out that this book has an afterword by our distinguished colleague, Representative Dante B. Fascell, chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Meyerhoff since 1941 has been president of the international advertising firm of Arthur Meyerhoff Associates, Incorporated, of Chicago, Illinois. It is a pleasure, Mr. Meyerhoff, to have you with the committee today and the Chair will now recognize you for your testimony.

#### STATEMENT OF ARTHUR E. MEYERHOFF

Mr. MEYERHOFF. Thank you. I am very pleased with Mr. McKinnon's letter because I am not a professional speechmaker. The talk at San Diego was the fourth speech I have made in my 33 years in the advertising business.

Mr. Chairman and Committee Members: My name is Arthur E. Meyerhoff. I am the executive head of Arthur Meyerhoff Associates, Inc., an advertising agency established in 1932. We represent national

accounts with offices in Chicago; Toronto and Montreal, Canada; and Zurich, Switzerland.

When it was first suggested that I appear before this committee, I was reluctant to do so because the field of my studies and activities did not seem to qualify me to speak with authority on the work of the Un-American Activities Committee as I understand it to be.

However, when I was informed that my appearance had to do with the hearings on a bill to establish a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, and I subsequently studied the reports of previous hearings on the bill, I realized that it came within the scope of what I had been working on for the past 20 years.

I think it is important for this committee to hear the results of my experience and research, which have to do with:

- 1) an analysis of the skills with which the Communists are fighting the propaganda war against the free world;
- 2) what skills we as a nation are using to counter that war;
- 3) the reluctance on the part of our State Department and the United States Information Agency to take a more dynamic approach to offset the worldwide Communist propaganda offensive against the United States and the free world;
- 4) the resources we have in the United States to effectively fight the Communist propaganda offensive.

While I wish to speak in support of bill H.R. 2379, I believe there are other immediate steps that we must take to stop the progress of the Communist propaganda offensive, making use of the skilled practitioners who already exist in the United States. These people have the special qualifications to understand the methods and technical skills behind the Communists' propaganda war, and they have the tools to help turn the tide of battle in our favor.

People in our State Department and our United States Information Agency, whose background and outlook eminently qualify them to deal with people on a person-to-person diplomatic level, aiming primarily at people of their own intellectual level, or what they refer to as the opinion leaders, seem to have no qualifications for, and little understanding of, the modern techniques of persuading a mass of people to accept an idea.

Their experience doesn't include the possibility that diplomats and opinion leaders can, in some instances, be motivated by a direct appeal from the masses, which, in turn, may help them to more easily achieve their diplomatic objectives.

Certainly, the appeals to large numbers of people through the masses require a completely different orientation than those skills required in diplomacy.

Our peaceful intentions, our humanitarian acts, and our desires for self-determination for peoples of the world should speak for themselves. Normally, our country should have no need for external propaganda, but we have a competitor that is poisoning the minds of people all over the world, using the very selling skills that were actually developed by the advertising, merchandising, and selling professions in the United States.

Mr. ICHORD. At that point, Mr. Meyerhoff, how do you analogize the propaganda tactics of the Communists over the world to advertising techniques used here in the United States?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. How do they use those techniques?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes. How are they similar?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I point out some of those as I go along. One particular technique is the use of repetition. We in advertising don't say a thing once to get an idea over; we say it over and over again. The same is true of Communists. For a number of years they have used this same theme: "We are the people's democracy. America is the imperialist," and they say that so often that I think they have a lot of people believing that and echoing that point of view.

Another similarity is in the research techniques. Instead of speaking in the context of their own experience, the Communists research the group they are working on, to learn their aims and hopes and aspirations, and address their messages and their propaganda to the self-interest of the people they are trying to persuade.

This is precisely what we do in the advertising business.

Mr. ICHORD. In other words, they study the people where they are directing the propaganda. One selling technique might work in one country and another selling technique in another.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. That is correct. I don't believe there is any three- or five-point program for solving all our propaganda problems all over the world. It depends, for example, on what has been said by our major competitor in each particular country. It depends on their experiences, their hopes, their needs, and how we relate to their security.

Have I answered your question?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. We must face this fact: If our Government were doing an adequate job of combating the Communist propaganda assaults against us, there would be no need for a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy outside of the State Department and the United States Information Agency.

Because of the State Department's failure to come to grips with the problems which the Academy would attack, I also strongly urge this committee to reject the State Department's request that any academy of this type come under their immediate direction.

The resistance that the bills to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy are facing now, and will face in the future, is the same resistance which I, and many leaders in our industry, have faced in the past in trying to get our Government information agencies to use the professional skills of people trained in the arts of persuasion to fight the propaganda offensive.

This resistance does not, as some people in our country believe, come from sinister forces in our Government that are on the side of the Communists. Wherever I speak, people ask me if there are people in our State Department who are influenced by the Communists. I hasten to tell them that I don't believe so.

My studies indicate that this resistance stems partly from the antipathy that the intellectual elite in general have for anything involving selling, advertising, and public relations.

I recently received a letter from a news correspondent with broad experience in Government and educational circles. He said, in part, "I dislike the word 'sell' almost as much as 'advertising.' For many

reasons, they have built up a connotation, no matter how unfair, of charlatanism."

Because of my background and studies, I believe I can give you an analysis that may not only help this committee to understand the resistance the bill is meeting, but may give those who are opposed something to consider which may possibly change their point of view. An understanding of this resistance may save this bill from meeting the same fate that other similar efforts have met.

During much of my career I have had what amounts to an avocation in applying the skills of selling and advertising to public service causes, working with schools, hospitals, and charitable organizations on a voluntary basis to increase enrollment or win public support.

In addition, during World War II one of our clients devoted an important part of his advertising budget to helping various Government services involved in the war to bring to the people of the United States the story of the contribution of these services in the war effort.

Our client, who was extremely public spirited, noticing the lack of understanding of selling and advertising techniques in Government agencies, felt that his stake in the war effort was to help the Government services to do a better job of presenting their story to the American public by using the same skills of selling and advertising that were responsible for the success of his business.

I supervised much of the liaison between our client and the various Government services, and at one time our organization was working with the Army, the Navy, the Manpower Commission, the Maritime Service, the Office of War Information, and the Treasury Department, as well as other services.

Based on our procedures, we researched and examined the important objectives these services told us they were trying to achieve in gaining public support. We then, in cooperation with our client, planned programs to accomplish their goals.

In our work with public service organizations and Government over 20 years' time, the people we dealt with—whether they were Army officers, educators, public-minded citizens, or Government officials—were in the beginning almost always entirely resistant and fearful of working with anyone who used a selling or advertising vocabulary.

I think you could compare the situation to the image that some people have of the Un-American Activities Committee: it was not what we might have been able to do that frightened them, it was their preconceived notions of what we represented. We were "hucksters," "hidden persuaders," "Madison Avenue boys"; all terms created by journalists, novelists, and the movie industry. I found that when we avoided the terminology often associated with advertising—words such as "persuade," "hard sell," "promotion"—it was easier to gain their confidence.

There is definitely a strong resistance in higher educational circles to the techniques of selling, advertising, public relations, or any method which attempts to "persuade." It is the academic theory that people should be intellectually challenged and should be able to get the truth by themselves.

They fail to realize that the masses of people believe a great deal of what they hear, right or wrong, particularly when it is repeated to

them over and over again. We in advertising know we must repeat a message over and over in order to get people to take action.

To give you some further evidence of the academic resistance to selling techniques, results of a survey on the opinions of college men and their grasp of the functions of advertising and selling brought out some of the following results: Three fourths of the male college students questioned thought that selling at best was a job, at worst a racket.

The biggest student objection to sales work is that it is "forcing people to buy things they don't need." A Yale student said of selling that it is both too frustrating and prostituting.

An Oregon youngster, who was trying to be openminded, came up with the statement that he wouldn't mind selling a product of "profound significance to the consumer." But he had never found such a product.

Mr. ICHORD. The image of you in the advertising field is almost as bad as in the politician field.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. Not as bad. We are not heckled as publicly to the great extent that politicians are.

Ted Replier of the Advertising Council, in a talk at a luncheon of the leaders of education in New York City, urged the educators: "Please understand me; I am not suggesting that educators cease criticizing advertising, but merely that they be fair and specific. Neither am I defending all advertising, although perhaps 95 percent of advertising offends no one. Ninety-five percent, by the way, is not perfect, but it is not bad. Some might question whether the actions of less publicized professions like law and medicine would score any higher. But, for heaven's sake, when criticizing advertising, may we not have some of that fine objectivity for which educators are famous?"

Incidentally, I have noted some recent relaxation outside of Government of the attitude against selling and advertising, on the part of several outstanding educators. For example, I had quoted Raphael Demos, a world-renowned philosopher, formerly of Harvard and presently at Vanderbilt University, as having warned a Radcliffe graduating class that they'd be assailed by the spellbinders and "tempted by the magnetic voices of the demagogues and fanatics" of advertising once they were outside the protection of their college.

In a recent letter from Professor Demos, he said, in part:

Advertising fulfills a need in our society; it awakes, arouses, even creates wants in the hearts of the public; in this way, our economy becomes an expanding one. We need what we want, and we want what we imagine; advertising enlarges our imagination.

Many of the people in our State Department and the U.S. Information Agency have not emerged from the rarified atmosphere of the academic world and still cling to antagonistic theories and attitudes toward selling, advertising, or any method designed to persuade the masses.

No wonder they resist taking an active role in doing what should be their number-one job—selling freedom to the world. Any effort to convey ideas to people through selling skills represents "indoctrination" or "brainwashing" to them. I think this committee heard this point of view expressed during the testimony of Mr. Averell Harriman. Several times he referred to "indoctrination" and "brainwashing."

In trying to understand the strong opposition to the selling point of view and to the opposition to the Freedom Academy bill, I have come across an additional concept that is held by Government leaders, namely, that freedom in and of itself is in the order of a self-evident truth which is self-motivating and self-perpetuating.

Therefore, in the name of freedom all manner of negative, as well as small percentages of positive, news can be freely communicated to uncommitted nations on the assumption that this "breath of fresh air" will, as if by magic, turn a confused mind in our direction.

The recognition that freedom as a concept must be sold in its own way does not enter their minds; therefore, to propose an aggressive, professional sales campaign runs contrary to the basic philosophical beliefs of many people who create policy in Government circles.

The idea that there is something reprehensible about selling has taken on in their minds the characteristics of what one might call a religion. Yet, if we examine the history of our democratic truths, which we hold to be self-evident or accepted as revelation, it is easy to see that at one time they were disseminated as selling messages, in the strict sense of the word, and repeated over and over again—otherwise they would never have been accepted. "Indoctrination, brainwashing" if you want to call it that.

Academic people often see advertising as a gaudy page in the newspaper or an irritating interruption in a favorite television program. They think only of the high-pressure magazine salesman who wedges his foot in their door or of the Hollywood version of the obnoxious publicity man. They don't understand that persuasion can be subtle or pleasing or lofty in purpose. They don't understand that advertising of some breed or shade is being practiced all the time by all people, in all media, and for all purposes.

A little freedom symbol painted on the side of a stone wall can be a sales message or an advertisement, too.

The question which prompted me to spend 5 years in researching and writing my book, *The Strategy of Persuasion*, is the same question, it seems to me, that motivated the many people who worked on the various bills to establish a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy.

It is the same question more and more Americans are asking every day. While that question is being stated in various ways, essentially it is, "What is wrong with the way we are being interpreted abroad?" Many leaders inside Government have been asking this same question.

When Robert Kennedy returned from a visit to 14 nations he wrote:

The amount of misinformation, as well as lack of information, about the United States and our system of government is appalling.

The Communist propaganda machine constantly spews out its facts and figures and its version of how to solve the problems of the world.

Mr. Kennedy continued:

No one comes forward with an explanation of the modern-day United States; no one counters with the fact that modern-day colonialism is tied to Communism, not capitalism. No one is there to talk about Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Tibet, or East Berlin. No one is prepared to counter the Communists' arguments.



Our President, as Vice President, came back in 1961 from a goodwill tour of several countries and made this observation:

The United States has not sold itself to the world. A nation that knows how to popularize corn flakes and luxury automobiles ought to be able to tell the world the simple truth about what it is doing, and why it is doing it.

That statement suggests that the methods and people who did popularize corn flakes and luxury automobiles and a lot of other things could apply their knowledge and methods to making the truth about the United States better known and better understood.

Over the years, whenever a leader in our industry has spoken out about Government using the skilled people and methods of advertising to help turn the tide in the propaganda battle, the same statement has been heard from our Government information agencies—that you cannot sell Government ideas the way you sell soap flakes.

This has not been confined to one administration. It has persisted for the past 20 years, as far as I can tell.

This statement was recently reiterated by a spokesman for the United States Information Agency. The statement, in part, said:

The advertising industry is a skilled and effective force in the American marketplace, but I hasten to say it is a naive person who assumes that if a man is a top salesman of soap and deodorant he is automatically an expert in selling ideas or political outlook.

Well, of course, you don't sell ideas the way you sell soap and deodorant. Neither do you sell Cadillac cars the way you sell soap. Inherent in the product is the means for selling that product. A good salesman adjusts his technique to the product or idea and the people he is trying to persuade and sell.

The reference to soap and deodorant, by the way, showed a deep-seated resentment toward selling. There are many of the necessities of life that are sold through advertising; it isn't all soap and deodorant.

The important thing is that advertising men make their living by finding out how to reach people and developing the right words or symbols to get them to act in a predictable way.

Why do we buy one brand of cigarettes rather than another? With our eyes shut we probably can't tell one cigarette from another. But we live by symbols. Some catch phrase, some familiar melody, some glimpse of a cowboy in God's country—and we are impelled to buy a particular cigarette.

My research indicates there is no one in a responsible position in the United States Information Agency with training and experience in the "arts of persuasion" as practiced in the United States. This agency is long on information and short on persuasion.

With their background in journalism, education, and foreign affairs, it is easy to understand why officials of USIA concentrate on information centers, lending libraries; printing and distributing magazines; and engaging in activities designed to improve the cultures of people; but they have not designed these activities to present a direct, convincing story that will bring masses of people to the side of the free world.

Incidentally, in speaking of our overseas libraries with books in English that are aimed at improving the culture of peoples rather than presenting a direct story that will make them favorable to us,

I would like to say that libraries have an extremely limited appeal in countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Egypt, South Vietnam, and elsewhere, where they were burned recently.

A statement recently issued by the USIA said that the libraries act as a lightning rod—a safety valve—and if they weren't available in some countries, the organizers of these anti-American demonstrations probably would direct their mobs to move against private U.S. interests in their midst—a rather novel use for the expensive libraries that we have established overseas. This explanation appears to me to be a little farfetched in justifying our present sterile propaganda approach.

USIA's most noteworthy activity is to tell the truth of what goes on in the United States through its own news facilities. Of course, the truth of what goes on in the United States—as you and I know it—has far more to offer to the world than Russia or Cuba or Red China can offer.

In spite of our problems, no rational man would exchange our way of life for that of the man behind the Iron Curtain. And yet, there is a fallacy in the USIA approach. This approach has put the United States Information Agency, a Government agency, into the news business, a function that is contrary to the principles of a democratic society.

USIA explains that by broadcasting the news of what goes on in the United States, good or bad, people will eventually realize that we tell the truth, and our messages will be believed. Unfortunately, the news does not always reflect the truth of what goes on in our country as a whole.

In fact, we know that the events which make the headlines are the events that are unusual. That's why they are in the headlines. If riots and scandals were common occurrences, they would not be given such heavy coverage.

When we hear of unusual or newsworthy events, we automatically relate them to what is normal and familiar. People overseas, who know virtually nothing about life in the United States, cannot do this. They accept the events they hear about as being typical or commonplace, and anyone who has entertained a visitor from overseas has had that fact brought home to him.

And yet we have the spectacle of the USIA—an official Government agency—broadcasting day after day throughout the world news of crime and scandal in the United States. Yes, these unpleasant events do happen, but do they represent the real United States that you and I know? I don't think they do.

The things we hear on the air and read about in newspapers are unusual. That's why they are "news."

There are many more law-abiding citizens than there are lawbreakers. There are infinitely more responsible teenagers than wild or delinquent teenagers. I think that is being demonstrated on the Mississippi River today, the way those kids are working on the dikes to stem the floods. There are more enduring marriages than divorces. But none of that is news.

It is a sad fact that the truth is not usually news. And news does not necessarily reflect the truth.

The constructive things about our society and what it represents are not newsworthy and can be completely overshadowed by the violence in the daily headlines.

The problem is magnified in other nations, where the Communists add their own distorted version of what goes on in the United States. How many people stop to think that the reason they don't hear very much sensational news about the Communist nations is not that murders, divorces, and riots don't happen there, but that they are rarely reported?

By contrast, we look pretty bad. The true contrast—the contrast of a free press versus a totalitarian press—is lost in the mass of headlines.

I have been advocating that our Government get out of the news business and get into the selling business, that is, USIA should no longer attempt to cover the news for the people of the world. This vital function is best left in the hands of the free press of the world, the nongovernmental commercial news services that completely serve the free world.

Where this commercial news is not available—as behind the Iron Curtain—our Voice of America is not an able substitute. What news does get through the jamming is neutralized by incessant hostile propaganda. And for those behind the Iron Curtain who do want news of the free world, there are Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty—both privately operated broadcasting operations that are, by some reports, more effective than Voice of America.

Through the Voice of America, USIA broadcasts programs, some of which are so erudite and dull that I'm sure they attract only a tiny fraction of their potential audience. Here are some titles of Voice of America scripts: National Institute of Arts and Letters, Eugene O'Neill: Part I, Earthquakes: Cause and Effect, and one called Dead Horse, the Featherbed and Unwork.

The last one is a discussion of useless work in our society of superabundance. I wonder how impressive that subject is to those nations where the big problem is how to stay alive from day to day.

Creative programming on the Voice of America designed to reach the largest possible audience with effective messages woven into the broadcast schedule on a day-in-day-out basis can bring many more millions to our side.

The entertainment industry and the advertising industry working together as they do in the United States have proven that they have the know-how to get results.

Many people don't realize that a propaganda offensive can pack the lethal power of a python—and can coil and choke just as effectively, too. Now, everybody understands the weapons threat—that a 50-megaton bomb can knock the hell out of a city, and a 1000-megaton bomb will knock hell out of a county. But they don't understand that a megaton of propaganda can knock the resistance out of a continent—or of the world itself.

In 1917 Lenin invented a slogan: Peace, Land, Bread. That's all—three lovely words—and then repetition did the trick. That slogan was to be more effective than the whole Russian Army. An old United States advertising technique was getting a potent new application.

Lenin saw, as some of our brilliant leaders even today do not see, that if you control the minds of men it doesn't matter who controls the guns. And so, Russia has had an enormous jump on us in the strategy of political persuasion.

The Communists may threaten the free world with their weapons, but I believe that we have more to fear from the psychological devices they are using in the war of words. It will be this war that will eventually decide whether communism will rule the world, or will wither and die.

While we congratulate ourselves on having achieved a lull in the cold war in the West, the long-range Communist propaganda war goes on full force. Treaties, trade agreements, and cultural exchanges become propaganda weapons for them.

I would like to have you look at some of the papers that many colleges throughout the United States are getting. Each one of them has in it the inevitable propaganda statements downgrading the United States and praising the Communist world. The publications are circulated openly through our mails.

I ask you to look at a recent issue of *Ameryka*, a USIA production, written in Polish for distribution in Poland, with 35 pages of news and dramatic pictures devoted to our race riots. It does give the history of the civil rights movement, with an attempt to tell the story of freedom in academic detail.

But the dramatic pictures and the colorful language used to describe the "oppressed peoples" throughout America overshadow the explanation, and I am sure that the overall impression from this article is that America is torn by strife. Consider its impact—a Government production. How the Reds must love this ammunition we give them.

Now, would it have been so unethical to feature a 35-page illustrated article about our fine Polish-American citizens in America enjoying the fruits of freedom rather than to emphasize this material?

I would like to, if I may, just show you this magazine.

Mr. ICHORD. Could you leave that with the committee, Mr. Meyerhoff?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. Yes, sir, I will. Here is a picture of the march on Washington. The very picture demonstrates the freedom of our country. The country where this magazine was sold is not free. But the words that stand out in this article are, "We seek freedom in 1963."

Mr. CLAWSON. Mr. Meyerhoff, what was the distribution? How many were circulated?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. As I understand it, it is about 30,000, and they are sold on the basis of an exchange program with the Communists. They publish a counterpart of that magazine in this country and, from what I have seen of the Communist counterpart, they are doing one heck of a selling job.

Mr. ICHORD. Your idea is it would be very easy for the Communists to come in behind an article such as this and sell the idea that no one has freedom in the United States?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. It would be very simple. They have the material right there to work with. It is true that the magazine has quite limited distribution. It is true that it does tell the story of freedom. It does make a complete analysis of our side of the story. But if you take it in its entirety, the detail is overshadowed by the violence.

The USIA explains the use of material such as this in the following manner: “\* \* \* we must plan our efforts in certain knowledge that what is done in a Selma or a Harlem or said in the Senate or in our press becomes part of our campaign.”

Many people are killed annually by slipping in their bathtubs, but if you were to bring up this fact at the same time that you were trying to tell people of the joy of taking a bath, you would discourage them from taking baths.

This does not mean that you should suppress the statistics of the number of people who are killed annually in bathtubs, but it is an example of what happens when you combine a news function with a selling function.

You cannot do an effective job of presenting an idea or product by emphasizing the negative sides of the product. The negative aspects are often so spectacular that they overshadow the benefits that the idea or the product has to offer.

When a Government agency gets into the news business, it is almost impossible to present impartially what is good in our society.

There is hardly a product or an event that doesn't have its negative factors, but in selling we emphasize the positive.

I am certain that if the skilled men in advertising, public relations, and selling were called upon to direct our propaganda efforts, they would find many ways to emphasize the constructive things that our society has to offer.

I want to make this perfectly clear. I am in no way suggesting that the free press be inhibited or that they be stopped from publishing the news. What I am saying is that our Government should begin an educational program designed to have people overseas understand our society, its humanitarian purposes, and its free press, so that they can properly evaluate the truth of our position.

I have no concern about the people in the United States understanding our country as a whole, but I am concerned with these people in other countries who don't understand it.

Freedom and truth will not be bought on what we consider their “self-evident” merits, unless we effectively bring those merits to the attention of the people whom we want to influence.

Any American will grant that in a court of law each side should, without distorting facts, be as persuasive as possible. We accept this as proper. We'd be quick to fire our lawyer if he kept stressing the spectacularly negative aspects of our case.

Yet, at present, two ideologies stand before the bar of world opinion, fighting for survival. The opposition uses every emotional trick in the book. But our own counsel persists in citing only so-called news facts, often highly damaging to us—and conscientiously refuses to persuade the jury of the world.

Propaganda can have noble aims. It is merely an organized effort to spread particular doctrines. Propaganda can be misused, of course, but so can a hammer or a razor—or anything else.

Automobiles can transport and automobiles can mangle. Water can quench thirst and water can drown. But we don't forego these great necessities because somebody else misuses them.

I think that also came up in the testimony from the State Department, that we can't use the methods that the Communists use. If

they are misusing the proven methods of persuasion by lying, why can't we use these methods to tell the truth? Our Defense Department is quick to match and surpass the Communists with every weapon of war; why should a weapons gap exist in the propaganda war?

Whether propaganda is good or bad depends entirely on its purposes. Hitler made a vicious use of propaganda; Stalin made a vicious use of propaganda. Consequently, propaganda has a bad name. Yet propaganda may be used for excellent objectives—to back charities, to wipe out disease or forest fires, and many other constructive things.

Naturally I support the bill to create a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy, just as I would instantly support any approach or technique which can possibly help us in the struggle against communism and the understanding of what they are trying to do.

Certainly, it is important to train people in and out of Government to understand the ideological assaults that are being made against the free world and means for fighting those assaults. We need every force that America can muster, even though this force would be an unorganized force fighting a highly efficient, organized propaganda organization.

In addition to the people in and out of Government who will be trained by the Freedom Academy, there must be a Government agency that becomes operational now to direct our cold war efforts if we are to successfully offset the hate and subversion that the Communists are spreading against us and the free world.

This organization can be our present United States Information Agency, but it must carry out the spirit of Public Law No. 402 upon which it was established—"an Act to promote the better understanding of the United States among the peoples of the world and to strengthen cooperative international relations."

In order to accomplish this end, it must be headed and staffed by people with definite experience and training in the skills of persuasion. There must be professional leadership, under the direction of the President, to establish an effective propaganda program.

In a communication from the State Department to this committee, dated March 29 of this year, which opposes the bill to establish the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, Douglas MacArthur II stated, "Expertise and operational experience are as important in the formulation of policy as they are in its execution."

I agree with this wholeheartedly, but the State Department has not proven its expertise and operational experience in the area of propaganda.

To draw an analogy from the business world, the State Department can be compared to the sales department of a large corporation which sells only to wholesale buyers. The sales manager may consider his job of primary importance, since he makes the sale. But the advertising department that directs its efforts to the consuming public knows that the wholesale buyer has to buy the product if the consumers demand the product as a result of the advertising. The sales manager's job is made easier by virtue of the pressure of the advertising.

Isn't it possible that the State Department's job might be easier if there were an effective force in the field bringing pressures to bear on the diplomats? I believe this is precisely what the Communists are doing when they demonstrate in various countries.

By stressing the importance of the diplomats and the opinion leaders, we overlook the fact that opinions of the masses are not necessarily influenced by a few leaders and that leaders can be influenced by the masses. I believe that this is the reason that Russia has large, trained propaganda organizations throughout the world to do just this.

We must move to the attack in all parts of the world now with the readily available professional persuaders of the United States. We need a broad-based, effective propaganda program directed by men skilled in the "arts of persuasion." We in the United States are the greatest salesmen in the world, but we have not sold freedom to the world.

We have not exposed the living lie that is communism and the hate it is spreading.

It is high time to call in the experts—not the Hollywood version of the Madison Avenue hucksters, but the trained, imaginative, dedicated men who have proved they have precisely the skills needed to make people yearn for what is good—and motivate them to obtain it.

Once again I say, as a representative of the advertising profession, that I will endorse bill No. H.R. 2379 to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. But, in conclusion, I wish to mention several matters on which the success of this general project will hinge:

First, the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy must be centralized in its control, undominated by other departments, bold and imaginative in its proposals.

Second, any department or agency receiving policy proposals from the Freedom Academy should be expected to cooperate with these proposals, or be required to justify its refusal.

Third, a liberal budget must be made available to carry through the Academy proposals. According to estimates, the Russians spend between \$1½ to \$2 billion a year on propaganda missions. Here we are at a tremendous competitive disadvantage. The finest proposal will be a strangled pigeon without cash. And if it only saves a tiny part of our great big defense budget by winning the propaganda war, it will save many billions.

Fourth, the techniques and skills of advertising men and public relations men should be employed to the fullest now in a reorganized and adequately financed USIA. Unlike others who will need years of training, these professional forces are ready to tackle the job for America immediately.

Spot experiments would precede any widespread campaigns, of course. As in advertising, we must try out a technique in a limited locality and then broaden the scope when results are favorable.

I challenge the USIA to recruit a group of skilled advertising and public relations men and assign to them the responsibility for reaching the people of just one country with the story of what America means to them.

Instead of arguing over theory while the uncommitted world goes down the Communist drain, let us put the matter to a practical test. Give us a year or two to present American ideas to the masses of another country with techniques adapted from those that have been so successful in our own country, and we will soon see which way gets results.

We must avoid the gross blunders of the Communists—luckily, we

Americans have a far better product to promote and could make far faster headway than they.

Thank you.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you, Mr. Meyerhoff, for a very interesting and important contribution to these hearings, and I might say that I wholeheartedly join with former Congressman McKinnon in his appraisal of your ability to present your ideas.

I have a few questions which I would like to develop. In your statement you have indicated that the State Department has failed to reach beyond the foreign leaders and the foreign diplomats and get to the people. That charge has often been leveled at the State Department.

Don't you feel that in recent years the State Department has made some improvement in that field?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I frankly find little evidence of it. I spent 2 years in Europe, went into East Germany, made other studies, and I do not feel that the U.S. has made much headway in reaching the masses of people.

As a matter of fact, from everything that I can see—and I could give you dozens of quotations on this subject from knowledgeable people—our prestige has deteriorated rather than gained. I cite the attacks on our USIA libraries, which apparently are increasing. I see little evidence of the State Department reaching the people of other nations more effectively. I would certainly like to see such evidence. I have made these statements in speeches and have had a book on the market for 5 months, and I have had no one in Government give me any evidence to indicate that my evaluation is wrong.

Mr. ICHORD. You made a very serious indictment of the USIA and its broadcasting policies, namely, your testimony about the reporting of that which is bad in American news, reporting that news abroad. I have heard that criticism made of the USIA quite frequently. Not too many months ago that was in the newspapers, criticism made of USIA. What is the date of this Polish publication?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I would like to comment while I am getting that.

Mr. ICHORD. Not being on the Foreign Affairs Committee I haven't followed this matter closely, but I was of the understanding that the USIA had made some changes in its presentations abroad.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. By the way, that is October 1964.

Mr. ICHORD. October 1964.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. By the way, I want to state that I have looked at the records and the backgrounds of these men in USIA and I have the deepest respect for all of them. I think they are dedicated. I think they are well trained in their fields. I have no criticism of anyone in the USIA.

Mr. ICHORD. You feel it is just a mistake in judgment?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I say they are not skilled in the professions that can help improve our image abroad, and have been to some extent influenced by their academic or journalistic backgrounds.

Walter Trohan of the *Chicago Tribune* reported on Vietnam and USIA's newer tactics in the propaganda war over there. In essence, he said the Communists use extensive propaganda to aid Ho Chi Minh: they sing songs in his praise. They quote poems about him. They show him with babies. They show him with guerrillas. They show



him working in his garden. They build him up as a personality to be loved. But on our side, we have helicopters broadcasting the message of truth to the Vietnamese, often in English, or in dialects that they do not understand. And what is more important, the content of these messages is ineffective.

Mr. ICHORD. Of course, you have picked out and put your finger on one field of activity, and I do agree with you, but I think the USIA does a lot of good work. For example, I just received this morning a report from the United States Information Agency. In this report it has excerpts from Cuban letters, some of them reading as follows:

Keep up the good work because all of Cuba can hear you.  
God bless you all.

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There is much need for a program like this where young people can learn what unfortunately they do not now teach to our land.

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Congratulations for the brilliant work being carried on for our cause, which is the cause for democracy.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. May I comment?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. When we in advertising appraise a market with our techniques, we look at that market as a total thing. If we paid too much attention to the few letters that we get, pro or con, we might be completely misled.

Any effort in any direction will motivate letters good and bad, but you cannot decide a program that is designed to reach masses of people based on these letters. A few letters, pro or con, have no significance whatever.

Mr. ICHORD. You made a very cogent point about how your thinking will be influenced by the reporting of bad news. I know I had that brought home very forcibly to me during the past week, that is, you sit up here on the banks of the Potomac and read in the newspapers of the crime committed by juveniles. You read of the activity of certain beatniks among our schoolchildren and the activities of certain college groups fighting for the right to display obscene four-letter words, and it is very easy to get the idea that the young generation is going to pot.

During the Easter vacation, I had the opportunity to speak to about 9,000 high school kids at various schools in my district and I came back with the idea that the young kids are not only healthier today physically than the preceding generation; they are more intelligent. They are just as strong morally. And your idea was brought home very forcibly to me.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I agree with you wholeheartedly on what you say about our young people.

Mr. ICHORD. One more question. I would point out to you that the bills that have been introduced would only establish the Freedom Academy for a research training and development center. It would not be an operational agency. Are you in favor of setting it up as an operational agency?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I can't say that. I am in favor of the training of people. I believe it might be well not to make it operational. The United States Information Agency could use personnel trained in the Freedom Academy.

Mr. ICHORD. I might say that I believe that was one of the misunderstandings of the State Department in its opposition to the bill. I think they thought that the Freedom Academy would intrude into their field of traditional authority.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I do not believe it will.

Mr. ICHORD. Then you more or less believe that the State Department does have the operational agencies it needs? You do feel that there could be considerable improvement made in their techniques and you have suggested here today ways in which their activities and procedures could be improved.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you have any questions?

Mr. CLAWSON. Mr. Chairman, I have a number of them. In fact, I wish we could spend a long time together here and explore some of your ideas in connection with your testimony.

I jotted down just a couple of notes because of your application of a different principle than this record that USIA put out, where you would do what the old song said, "Accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative." I approve of that.

However, now let me move on into something that might appear just to be a little argumentative. I think the masses of people to whom I have talked feel that we have failed in the world to sell the United States of America and freedom and the kind of choices that we have to make in this country. Because of that failure they are making demands upon us who are in elective positions.

I am sure these same demands are being made upon people who hold appointed positions. If the masses make this kind of complaint, why haven't you been able to sell your program to the USIA? You are in the selling business.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. As I have pointed out, there has been strong opposition in Government to the effective use of people from the advertising and selling industries.

Your statement really says, "Why hasn't the advertising profession who have spoken out in this area——

Mr. CLAWSON. "been able to sell their product?"

Mr. MEYERHOFF. The advertising business, a number of years ago, decided to demonstrate to Government through the Advertising Council that it can be an effective force in selling ideas. The Advertising Council has been doing an extremely effective job for Government and public service objectives on the home front. But these mere demonstrations apparently have not convinced people in Government that these great industries can help our image abroad. I see indications that the time is ripe to bring this story to the public in a more forceful and direct manner. And I am urging our industry to take dynamic steps in this direction. At present, there are only individuals interested in promoting it.

Mr. CLAWSON. Excuse me just a minute. Mr. Meyerhoff, you mean interested in this particular area of the advertising industry getting into the field of Government?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. Yes, we sell our clients' products, not ourselves, primarily.

Mr. CLAWSON. The reason I question that is because I can remember, ever since I have been able to understand the language, "It pays to advertise." That is a common household propaganda piece as far as I am concerned, and I think you have done a good job in selling your own product.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. Thank you.

Mr. CLAWSON. Let me hasten to tell you that you and I are on the same side. I want to sell our program, too, and I want to do it the best way we can. I think perhaps we have explored this one.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I had hoped that my book was a way of getting the attention of the people and stirring up enough people to get back of the idea.

Mr. CLAWSON. We are talking about two areas of advertising. One, of course, is unrelated at the present time, by using immediately what you call a professional persuader, and this brought all kinds of visions to me. I can remember the persuaders that some of the teenage kids used; it was a pair of brass knuckles or a tow chain or something of this kind. You propose the use of this information for some immediate exploration or propaganda tool by the Government agencies involved, and the second approach is through the Freedom Academy, the bills that we are considering now.

A witness prior to this has indicated that he would like to see the Academy established and that every person possible go through this Academy, whether they are with a corporation that has a business in some foreign country or an oil company that is exploring some oil interests in other areas or a construction company or a mining company or with the State Department.

He would make that compulsory as far as the State Department is concerned, but all of these who are going overseas in any capacity, private or public, should take advantage of the Freedom Academy facilities in order to learn their function in dealing with these foreign nations and peoples of foreign lands.

Would you subscribe to that philosophy?

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I certainly would. The point is that the more people that are aware of the problem and the more people that have an understanding of this problem, the better we are going to be able to fight it.

However, I maintain that it also must be undertaken by an operational organization that does this job within Government, even though we will be training people in the private sector or in the various Government departments to be aware of the fight that is being waged against us, because I don't think people understand it at the present.

Mr. CLAWSON. Thank you.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. However, as a group to fight this very well-organized Communist propaganda organization, I don't see the Freedom Academy becoming too useful for a little while.

Mr. CLAWSON. That is the reason you want some immediate action.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I want immediate action. I am trying to separate the two things.

Mr. CLAWSON. I see. Mr. Chairman, we have another witness, and he is present here this morning so I will withhold any further questions.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Clawson. I might point out to you, Mr. Meyerhoff, that the director of the committee staff just handed to me a copy of your book, *The Strategy of Persuasion*, and it is on the Library of Congress waiting list of books. A notice slip in this copy states that "The long list of Senators and Representatives waiting for this book requires in fairness to them it be treated as a ten-day book." I might say that I have heard of your book, but I haven't had any opportunity to read it myself.

I am going to put myself on that list.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. I have an extra copy here if you like.

Mr. ICHORD. I would like to have a copy. I would also suggest that it might be a good idea if you had sufficient copies to send the same to the committee on foreign affairs, both the House and the Senate, and I hope that the proper people in the State Department are also reading your book because I think you have made a great contribution to this work that we are all interested in.

You have many ideas which I think can be accepted. Thank you very much, sir, for your excellent testimony.

Mr. MEYERHOFF. Thank you.

Mr. ICHORD. The next witness is Congressman Buchanan, a member of the full committee.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN H. BUCHANAN, JR., U.S.  
REPRESENTATIVE FROM ALABAMA**

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, because of the lateness of the hour and the most fascinating testimony of the previous witness if you would like to further question him and let me come at a later time I would be most happy to do so.

Mr. ICHORD. I think we can go ahead and proceed with your statement, Congressman Buchanan.

(At this point, Mr. Clawson left the hearing room.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. I first want to compliment the previous witness for this very fine statement and will look forward with you, Mr. Chairman, to reading this book. I think perhaps the wisest statement I could make in following him is simply to say Amen.

In the language of business and of advertising, we do have a product that is worth selling, a superior product, and one which deserves the finest skills of the advertising art. In the language of politics, we have a platform that is the right platform and all the issues are on our side.

In the language of the church, we have a message to proclaim that I believe to be the truth and, in contrast to world communism, a matter of good as over against evil. I happen to believe in the inherent power of good to overcome evil or truth to cast out error, as light might cast out darkness.

Mr. Chairman, if truth is to triumph in our time in this death struggle between our way of freedom and the way of totalitarianism that has taken such deadly form in what we call communism and if in our time good is to overcome evil, it seems to me that we need to learn the

danger that we could easily see from the work of Hitler or Stalin, the danger of lies skillfully told, of evil operating under the mask of good, the danger of letting the other side, which is the wrong side, consistently employ superior techniques and so skillfully fight a battle they ought to lose that we find ourselves continually on the losing side instead.

I don't think there is any question in your mind or the mind of the gentleman here or of any American as to the innate superiority of our way of life over the way of communism. I would say that we have a country worth keeping and a way worth preserving.

I am sure on this we would all agree. But the disconcerting fact is that world communism has made great progress in overcoming the forces of freedom. Starting at the turn of the century with a handful of men, Lenin, with the ideas of Marx and Engels, began to move forward. By 1917, with a few thousand, he was able to take over the government of Russia. World communism has continued to move forward until in this day some 40 million people are members of the Communist Party. More than one billion people, more than one third of the world's people, more than 25 percent of the earth's surface, and some 20-odd nations are now under the control of the Communists.

(At this point Mr. Clawson returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. Therefore, it would seem most obvious to me that this is a struggle we appear to be losing in light of the progress in conquering territory and in subjecting people that world communism has made. Yet this force standing over against our force, the force of our free society, is one which ought to lose because of the inherent superiority of our way of freedom.

I think there are three mainstreams of our culture that are worth preserving and that stand in utter contrast to the Communist way. These three causative forces have worked together toward making America what it is, toward creating this land of freedom, toward transforming a wilderness into a great nation, and a dream of human freedom into a reality here.

The first mainstream of influence, I would say, would be the Judaeo-Christian tradition of religious faith and morality. We are traditionally a people of faith and a people who have certain moral concepts as to right versus wrong and truth versus that which is false.

We are people with strong traditions of religious faith and morality, and this has gone into the basic framework of Western civilization, has run like a golden thread through its fabric, has been a mainstream of influence in the creation of this American society.

With due respect to the heathen in our midst, I think this is a rather important aspect of our society, and without prejudicing the right of the heathen I would say that it is one of the ways in which our society stands in contrast to the way of communism because communism is a system of militant atheism and it is in its essence and at its heart an atheistic philosophy and movement.

Its leaders have repeatedly reaffirmed this fact about communism. It is not only militantly atheistic, but where it comes into control, into power, it attempts to limit and at times, as in Red China, to brutally persecute religious groups and to maintain a basic attitude at best of tolerance and at worst of hostility in the form of persecution towards religious groups.

This, I think, is one clear way in which our society stands over against and above the Communist way, and in like fashion in the matter of morality. The people who created this country were people who had a certain sense of moral value. Our traditional concepts of morality, of right, are not shared by the philosophy of communism. Right, according to Communist philosophy and practice, is that which serves the interest of the Communist movement, whether it be to lie or to deceive or even to kill vast numbers of human beings. There is no concept of individual liberty, of individual human dignity, of individual people having inalienable or unalienable rights, such as those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but a total relativism in the moral outlook of world communism. Over against America's tradition of religious faith and morality we have the militant atheism and the complete relativism of the Communist outlook.

I would say the second mainstream of influence that has made our society what it is, is our traditional political system of liberty under law, guaranteed by the Constitution. As the basic law of our land, the Constitution guarantees representative government at every level and the maximum possible degree of individual liberty under law. It further guarantees government by law and not by man, of the division of the powers of government to make certain that liberties of the people are protected from too much concentration of power in any branch of government or at any level of government. This basic American political system which has put its emphasis on individual liberty to the maximum extent possible, consistent with the rights of other individuals, has put its emphasis on representative government at every level, in total contrast to the totalitarian system of world communism, a system designed to first create a strong state in the dictatorship of the proletariat. In time, after the proletariat has taken over, the state is to wither away.

Of course I don't need to instruct this committee that world communism has consistently in the past, and will consistently in the future, become stuck at the dictatorship stage and will develop a dictatorial clique which retains control and a totalitarian system which remains totalitarian. In utter contrast to our American way, communism is a system in which individuals have no certain rights or certain liberties, in which they have no choice as to leadership, and in which concepts we take for granted in this society of representative government, of individual liberty, of local self-government, are totally absent from the scene.

The third mainstream I would say would be our system of free and private enterprise. This system—you may call it capitalism or free enterprise or what you will—which has been a very significant factor in the transformation of a wilderness into a great nation, in the creation of the great middle class in our society for the first time in world history, in raising the level of the standard of living of the average American family to such a high level that it is higher than that of the average family of any great nation in all the world's history. This American way of economic freedom has fit hand in glove with our system of religious and of political liberty. This third mainstream has helped to make our Nation what it is and has been a resounding success.

Karl Marx, many years ago, rebelled at early capitalism when he saw child labor and when he saw people who constituted the poorer class who were stuck at a subsistence, or almost below subsistence, level for all their lives. He saw the terrible factory conditions, the terrible working hours and conditions, and he looked at this ugly bulb of early capitalism and proclaimed it to be wrong.

He didn't see the flower that was within the bulb. He did not know the fragrance or the beauty of the fairest flower of Western civilization, our 20th century America. He looked at the ugly lump of coal of early capitalism and proclaimed it dirty and wrong. He didn't see the jewel that was within that lump of coal. We know the flower and we know the jewel and, therefore, we have every reason and right to seek to preserve that which has proven itself to be a success.

Mr. Chairman, in the year in which Jesus Christ was born I am informed there were some 250,000 able-bodied men in the city of Rome alone living on the public dole of corn. This system, developing toward collectivism and toward a pretty thoroughgoing welfare state even for able-bodied persons, was one of the things, as I understand it, which served to bring about the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

The idea of collectivism is an old one, not a new idea in human history, and has not been a resounding success in any instance of which I am aware. A system of economic freedom, of political freedom, of religious freedom, of the many-splendored freedoms which we know in this country, has been a resounding success and is worth keeping.

Our country is a place of goodness and of freedom, a golden land for all its citizens, a land of hope and a land of progress and a land of opportunity, still dynamic, still moving forward, still crossing new frontiers. There is utter contrast between this way, which seems to be so much light and so much goodness, and the way which is a way of totalitarianism, a way of abrogation and violation of all human rights that I can understand, the way of world communism. Given the fact that this seems to be light versus darkness and good versus evil pretty clearly, it is strange to me that we could be losing this battle, and yet in terms of territory and numbers and time, we still are on the losing side of the greatest struggle which I believe our way of life has ever had, the greatest challenge to our system and to our Nation that it has known, this challenge of world communism.

What is the trouble? What is wrong? What is the basic reason we are apparently losing this battle for our way of life against a way that is evil, a totalitarian way that is wrong?

I do not claim to be a seer or prophet, but may I say that it would seem to me that one of the things, as I look down the road ahead, that would lead me to have deep fears for the survival of freedom is the fact that we are not, as the gentleman has previously testified, salesmen for freedom.

In the language of the church, we have a message to proclaim that is good and right, but we aren't doing a very good job of proclaiming it. With all due respect to the agencies of our Government, filled with many dedicated people who are sincerely trying to do this, I think one of the problems is lack of adequate preparation and training for this particular job of selling the American system to the world.

I have noticed, for example, this policy of the U.S. Information

Agency. I have had them explain to me why it is they accentuate the negative sometimes and report the bad news about America. They say it is going to be reported anyway, that it is quickly reported by AP and UPI and other news agencies, and they feel in order to accomplish their purpose they must admit the facts, admit the truth, join in reporting the news, and then as they can in time try to explain it satisfactorily and give the best possible interpretation to the world.

This is one kind of strategy, but I have driven a fair number of Chevrolets and I have never driven one yet that wasn't hard to start on a cold morning, and I have never yet seen an advertisement by General Motors or Chevrolet that: "Of course, our cars are hard to start on a winter morning, but otherwise they are pretty good automobiles."

I expect it will be a cold day in July before I ever see such an advertisement. I have driven several cars of another make, and have yet to drive one of that make on which the wheels would stay in balance. You just can't seem to keep the wheels of that particular automobile in balance, but I have never seen them advertise the fact.

I think we need to recognize the mote in our eye along with the beam that is in the Communist eye and I think we need to recognize the gnat of the things that are wrong with our society along with the camel that is wrong with their society, but I don't think we need to strain at the gnat and swallow the camel and to give equal attention to the mote in our eye and the beam in their eye in our attempt to be fair and to make certain that the world understands we understand what is wrong with our own society.

Our tremendous superiority over the way of tyranny and totalitarianism makes me feel we can be justified in accentuating the positive, in devoting our full attention to bringing the world's attention to the things, the very great many things, that are right about American society.

I believe the creation of this Commission or this Academy can serve well toward that end. With the Peace Corps and its emphasis on person-to-person and project-by-project diplomacy, with the great value that can come from person-to-person salesmanship of our way of life and its superiority to people all over this world through the Peace Corps and other like activities, with the U.S. Information Agency and its vital responsibility in this area, it seems that the personnel of such agencies really need this kind of training to be able to effectively, and with the best techniques of advertising or, if you please, of evangelism, sell our point of view and get our message across.

We have something that is worth selling, and it needs to get across to the people of the world, and I believe specific training toward this end could be very valuable toward the survival of human freedom and toward making the world understand and be more receptive toward the truth and rightness of the American way.

It would seem to me that everyone who is in foreign service, and I would concur with those who have testified—they feel this would be of value to people overseas, whether they be working for private companies or for the United States Government in some capacity—if we could have this made available, this special training made available, to all such persons and require it for those who in the official service of this Government go overseas as our representatives, if we could have



it available for all Americans so that each of us could be a salesman or an evangelist for the way we know to be right against the way we know to be wrong, it seems to me it could have great value not only from an American point of view, but from the larger point of view of fulfilling our responsibility toward working that all men may some day know the freedom which we enjoy and working toward the fulfillment of the responsibility of protecting the inalienable rights of all men in every nation to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

I for one am not satisfied with a rearguard defensive action. I cannot rest so long as millions of our fellow citizens all over this world live under the heel of tyranny and I feel it is time for us to go on the offensive in this war for freedom. It seems to me to fight an offensive war we must have training in the art of warfare. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Congressman Buchanan. As a minister as well as a Congressman and member of this committee and author of one of the bills, all of which are similar, the committee appreciates very much receiving your contribution to the record.

Do you have any questions, Mr. Clawson?

Mr. CLAWSON. No, in the interest of time, I won't ask any.

Mr. ICHORD. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. May I point out two things in my bill, H.R. 6700, that are different from other versions so far as I can ascertain just for your consideration.

On page 9, sec. 5, subsection (a) :

Members of the Commission and the Chairman shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than four members, including the Chairman, may be members of any one political party.

I am not trying to inject politics into this, but having grown up in a part of the country where we suffered under the limitations of a one-party system, and since we seem to be moving in that direction in this country, I thought while we still had two parties left in the country that this might be worth including.

Mr. ICHORD. Don't the other bills have that provision also?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Do they? I am sorry. There is a second one then on page 19, line 8, which is sec. 11, subsection (b) :

The personnel referred to in subsection (a) (2) of this section may be employed and their compensation fixed without regard to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. Such personnel shall receive compensation at rates fixed by the Congress.

I am pretty sure this is different. Is that not right, Mr. McNamara?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. This simply takes the employees of the Commission out from under civil service, with no reflection on the civil service. I thought this might be a better arrangement for people who might need high skills, and so forth, that there might be left to the Commission this more complete freedom in employing persons working in this area.

Mr. ICHORD. I would like to have from the State Department, if they are opposed to this bill, a very critical analysis of the legislation. I have even thought about sending it around to some of the Members that I thought might be opposed to the bill when it hits the floor and

encouraging them to come before the committee to discuss the pros and cons of it.

Mr. CLAWSON. Would it be in order to make such a proposal and ask the director to advise these folks and ask them to appear before us?

Mr. ICHORD. I would be glad to do that myself, send a copy of the legislation and a brief analysis of the bill and give them an opportunity and ask them to appear and get some testimony on the other side. There is bound to be a lot of opposition to this bill or it would have cleared the Congress by now since it has been around since 1959, so let's get it out.

Thank you very much.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Mr. ICHORD. The meeting will stand adjourned until the further call of the chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., Wednesday, April 28, 1965, the subcommittee recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

**HEARINGS RELATING TO H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, AND H.R. 6700, PROVIDING FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY**

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**FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1965**

**UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.***

**PUBLIC HEARINGS**

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 313A, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; and Del Clawson, of California.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Ichord, and Clawson.

Committee member also present: Representative Joe R. Pool, of Texas.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director, and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Please come to order. Today we renew hearings on various Freedom Academy bills which have been introduced.

There is widespread interest in these proposals as evidenced by the authors of the bills; namely, Representatives Herlong, Gubser, Ichord, Boggs, Gurney, Clausen, Brooks, and Buchanan. I think there are others.

We are extremely fortunate and honored to have here today the Ambassador to Cuba in the years 1957 to 1959, the Honorable Earl E. T. Smith.

Ambassador, we are very pleased that you could take time out to give us your views on these proposals. With your experience and background and dedication to the principles of our country, I might say that you add luster to an already long list of people in Government, former Ambassadors, former military people, former high civilians who have appeared in these hearings.

We welcome you here and look forward to receiving your views.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed in your own way, Mr. Ambassador. We will probably defer any questions until after you have testified. Make your presentation in your own way.

## STATEMENT OF HON. EARL E. T. SMITH

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I appreciate the invitation to testify before this distinguished committee in behalf of the Freedom Academy bills. Shall I just read my statement first?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. I attended the Taft School and Yale University. My business is investments. I have been a member of the New York Stock Exchange for more than 35 years. During World War II, I served in the United States Army and the United States Air Force, attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel, with 18 months of overseas duty.

I have been active in politics both on the national level and in my home State of Florida. I have received appointments from three Presidents: as a member of the War Production Board (before Pearl Harbor) by Franklin D. Roosevelt; to accompany Vice President Nixon in 1956 as a member of the American delegation to the inauguration of Brazilian President Kubitschek in Rio de Janeiro by Dwight D. Eisenhower; as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Cuba by Dwight D. Eisenhower; I was personally selected by President Kennedy to serve as Ambassador to Switzerland—later declined. I am the author of *The Fourth Floor*, which is an account of the Castro Communist revolution and is well documented to show that the Castro Communist revolution need never have occurred.

In reference to the Freedom Academy bills, I am not an expert on these bills. However, I am very much in favor of the general purpose of the bills, which I understand is:

(I) To greatly increase the scope and depth of training of cold war personnel in the new forms of struggle;

(II) To provide training for private citizens so they can participate more effectively in the global struggle;

(III) To give training to foreign nationals who will have to bear the main burden of the struggle in their respective countries;

(IV) To explore, through research, the full range of methods and means that can be utilized by the Government and the private sector to achieve our twin global objectives of defeating all forms of Communist political warfare, insurgency, and subversion while seeking to build free, independent, and viable nations.

(At this point, Mr. Pool entered the hearing room.)

Mr. SMITH. We very much need a United States graduate school for advanced political study and training, which is called the Freedom Academy.

In my opinion, a strong leftwing political philosophy took root in the United States as a result of the world depression of 1932, the inhumane activities of Adolph Hitler, and World War II. In some cases it represented a sincere effort to better the general conditions of the American people, but in other areas it was undoubtedly Communist inspired.

One of the major errors of judgment of doctrinaire leftwing thinkers is their belief that all revolutions taking place throughout the world are either democratic, or Communist, and that the United States should support, aid, and abet all democratic revolutions. It is not that simple. Many revolutionary groups which call themselves

democratic are in reality Marxist oriented or are just the means to satisfy some power-hungry individual. This is what happened in Cuba, and this is why the United States was primarily responsible for the success of the Castro Communist revolution, granting that the Batista government was losing strength from within because of corruption.

I mention Cuba because it serves as an example of what can happen throughout Latin America and why a Freedom Academy is vitally important to the United States.

Castro was not the only alternative to Batista. There were many alternate solutions. The Castro Communist revolution need never have occurred. That it did was, to a surprising degree, due to the policy of many in critical State Department positions.

These officials of the "fourth floor" believe that a leftist dictator is better than a rightist dictator. Incredible as it seems, they even believe that a leftist dictator who is anti-American is a better gamble than a rightist dictator who is friendly to the United States.

They look upon a leftist dictator as being progressive. They were determined to have the revolution succeed. Their official responsibility should be determined by what is beneficial to, and in the best interest of, the United States. But many of these State Department career men on the "fourth floor" determine our foreign policy by what fits their doctrinaire views of the future world. Their peculiar philosophy does not depend on reason, logic, actual facts, or a realistic appraisal of a situation.

Its source of inspiration is primarily an emotional one. It is difficult to understand this political philosophy from an American point of view.

I testified to the Senate that I had learned from experience and observation that our policies are determined by influential individuals in the lower echelons of the State Department in their day-by-day actions. By the time the higher officials receive them, policies have already been made and they have to live by them.

The Dominican Republic is another case in point. The President of the United States stated, according to an Associated Press release of May 3, 1965, that:

The revolution started out as an action dedicated to social justice, but it took a very tragic turn when the Communists saw a chance to create more disorder and seized control. What began as a democratic revolution was taken over and really seized by a band of Communist conspirators.

If the policy of the United States is to continue to aid and abet so-called democratic revolutions in the hope that democracy will follow, then it is essential that we have the Freedom Academy so that the United States will be thoroughly familiar with, and know in advance, the origin and nature of each revolutionary group. The United States risks its survival on such knowledge.

Neither the State Department nor the CIA would take a realistic view of the Castro Communist revolution. My reports to Washington were that the present policy of the State Department would only benefit the Communists. The CIA reports out of Havana, following a doctrinaire position, were that the revolution was not Communist controlled. This is not meant as a criticism of these great departments of Government. Insufficient attention has been given to the long-range

research and training program which underlies Communist capabilities in political warfare.

Mr. Lionel Soto, who, as I recall, was the Minister for Education under Castro, in an article appearing in *Socialist Cuba* [*Cuba Socialista*] in November 1961, bragged that during the last 5 years of the Batista regime, the Communists operated the highly important National Cadre School inside Havana and graduated some 200 selected cadres without the operation being discovered by the Batista police. To my knowledge, BRAC (Bureau of Repression of Communist Activities) was also unaware of these activities.

If The Freedom Academy had been established in 1954, as originally proposed, then by 1958 a number of Cubans from various organizations would have graduated from the Freedom Academy, for example: student leaders, labor leaders, businessmen, journalists, et cetera. These graduates would have been thoroughly grounded in the techniques of Communist political warfare and insurgency and, even more important, well versed in the methods and means that free men properly use to defeat these techniques. I believe they could have made the better elements of the anti-Batista forces aware of the Communist infiltration and Communist control of the Castro movement (known as the 26th of July Movement). It is incorrect to assume that the only opposition to Batista was Castro and his followers. A powerful anti-Batista element existed that was not terroristic. It represented the middle class and the intelligentsia of the country. From the time Castro landed in the Province of Oriente in December 1956, the State Department received reports of probable Communist infiltration and exploitation of the 26th of July Movement. The State Department was cognizant of Fidel Castro's Communist affiliations since the bloody, Communist-inspired uprising in Bogota known as the "Bogotazo" of 1948.

Reports on Fidel Castro's, Raul Castro's, and Che Guevara's Communist affiliations were provided by Ambassadors to Cuba, Mexico, probably Colombia, and many other sources, including the State Department's own Bureau of Intelligence and Research. If the Freedom Academy had been in existence, a number of persons within the national security apparatus of the United States Government would have graduated from the Academy. As a result of their training, they would have been better able to evaluate what was going on in Cuba and, because of their evaluation, might well have been responsible for altering the operational thinking of the United States Government insofar as Cuba was concerned.

Today, with Cuba and the Dominican Republic before us as shocking examples, the United States should be training men from every country in Latin America so that we may avoid repeating our mistakes.

Communists have intensively trained their leadership groups and cadres in advance schools for many years. We must train our people for self-protection. Khrushchev said, "We will bury you." Only through education on Communist tactics and operations will we prove him wrong.

I would like to point out another area of responsibility in which the Freedom Academy could be very important to our future security. That area is not a preventive one, but a corrective one. Today, Cuba has been a Communist nation for more than 5 years. During this

period, generations of children have been raised who have never read or heard the truth. They know only one side of the coin—the Communist side. If today Fidel Castro and the Fidelistas were eliminated, it would take time to decommunize a nation whose citizens have been in an “intellectual prison” for many years. Up to now, what program has the United States evolved to reeducate these people?

If today we freed Cuba, what program have we worked out to help reeducate the Cuban people? The Freedom Academy would be invaluable through research and training to aid such a plan for rehabilitation and reeducation.

I heartily endorse the Ichord-Boggs-Herlong Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy Act.

In closing may I quote from an address given by President John F. Kennedy before the National Press Club on April 20, 1961:

We dare not fail to see the insidious nature of this new and deeper struggle. We dare not fail to grasp the new concepts, the new tools, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat it—whether in Cuba or South Viet-Nam. And we dare not fail to realize that this struggle is taking place every day, without fanfare, in thousands of villages and markets \* \* \* and in classrooms all over the globe.

\* \* \* \* \*

No greater task faces this country or this administration. \* \* \* Too long we have fixed our eyes on traditional military needs, on armies prepared to cross borders, on missiles poised for flight. Now it should be clear that this is no longer enough—that our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country, without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border.

We intend to profit from this lesson. We intend to reexamine and reorient our forces of all kinds, our tactics and our institutions here in this community. We intend to intensify our efforts for a struggle in many ways more difficult than war \* \* \*.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ambassador, I take it that you are not expressing a belief that the revolutions you refer to are all supported by the State Department because the Department personnel are, in and of themselves, leftist or pro-Communist?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir, not at all. I think it is lack of proper understanding. Are you now referring, Mr. Chairman, to the people I am talking about in my book, *The Fourth Floor*?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Let us talk about them because those are the ones you refer to specifically.

Mr. SMITH. *The Fourth Floor* must be taken symbolically. *The Fourth Floor* identifies the State Department officers or secondary officials who determine our Latin American policy. I am not in any way intimating, and never have intimated, that they are or even have Communist leanings.

I believe supporting so-called democratic revolutions is partly due to lack of proper education and knowledge of communism. Such support implements our policy as it has been and, I believe, it is today. And I would like, Mr. Chairman, to explain this in more detail.

This policy of the United States is based on the premise, I believe, number one, that the old status quo in the world no longer exists.

I agree with that. This implies that the classes are no longer in control. It is now the masses.

Number two, that revolutions are taking place all over the world and that all revolutions are either democratic or Communist revo-

lutions; and, number three, it is our duty as the leaders of the free nations of the world to aid and abet all democratic revolutions.

If it is our policy to bring about the overthrow of rightist dictators in the hope that democracy will follow, then we must be prepared to take whatever steps are necessary to preserve law and order until a new government has been established. Otherwise, we leave a vacuum for the Communists to gain control.

If we are going to aid and abet all so-called democratic revolutions or democratic revolutionary groups, then the State Department and the CIA must be thoroughly familiar with the origin and nature of each revolutionary group. Cuba is a shocking example that they were not.

I believe, if the Freedom Academy Act and the Freedom Academy Commission bill were enacted, that the United States would be far better prepared to know more about the origin and nature of individual revolutionary groups.

This foreign policy which I have just outlined is more or less spelled out in the State Department white paper on Cuba of April 1961.

So far, where we have been successful in removing rightist dictators, we have left a vacuum in which the Communists gain control.

By this I mean that the United States should be prepared—when rightist dictators are removed—to support a broadly based provisional government to function until such time as general elections have been held.

The CHAIRMAN. And your point is that the establishment of the Freedom Academy would provide a central point where training, research, and development of techniques and ideas could bring about the things you advocate?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; I agree with your statement 100 percent. The Freedom Academy is necessary so that we may better recognize so-called democratic revolutionary groups for what they really are. Until the President of the United States moved our troops into the Dominican Republic we did leave such a vacuum in that country.

To get back to your question, I believe if we gave training to foreign nationals so that they may be forewarned and know how to cope with the Communists, they would obviously be much better prepared to function. With guidance from Freedom Academy graduates, the broadly based provisional government would be much better prepared to maintain law and order until such time as a democratic government is established to carry on the affairs of the nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the State Department has submitted a letter to the committee outlining its reasons for opposing these bills. Did you examine them or did you read that letter and would you care to comment on it?

Mr. SMITH. I have only seen the letter this morning and read it twice. This is the first time that it was brought to my attention. I would be happy to make one or two comments.

On page 1, paragraph 3, the letter states:

The President has given to the Department of State a primary role in marshalling all of our resources in these fields which cut across many broad areas of government responsibility. \* \* \*

Obviously the State Department is naturally jealous of its own prerogative.



On page 2, paragraph 1, the letter states:

The Freedom Commission proposals place great stress upon the mobilization of private citizens—domestic and foreign—to fight the cold war, and upon a systematic orientation of our citizens against communism. The proposals contemplate that these tasks be undertaken on a large scale by the Executive branch of the government. While it is very useful in certain circumstances to train private U.S. citizens and foreign nationals, our primary need—and hence our first priority—is to improve in all possible ways the training of government personnel involved in the day-to-day operation of our foreign affairs.

Well, as I understand the Freedom Academy bill and the Freedom Academy Commission, the Academy would give much broader training and training in depth and scope than the Foreign Service schools are set up to do.

I believe there has been a great deal of testimony before this committee to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and I think you would agree that, under our Constitution and based on your experience as a former Ambassador, that under no circumstances could this Freedom Academy overshadow, take over, or interfere with the operation of foreign policy by the executive department. That would not be the purpose of the bill.

Mr. SMITH. No, sir; as I understand, the Freedom Academy would not encroach at all upon the operations of the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. I prefer your word that it would not “encroach” on the jurisdiction and traditional constitutional provisions vesting the conduct of foreign affairs in the executive department.

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This would be a central point where you can get the research, training, and general information over to business, labor, people in the educational field, and foreign nationals who would care to understand the other side of the coin, as you express it.

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, I also believe there has been objection to the training of foreign nationals. The statement has been made that when they return to their own respective countries the charge would be made that they are stooges of Yankee imperialism. It would seem to me that if these foreign nationals are trained in the State Department it would give even more weight to those charges.

Of course those charges aren't true, but it would give more weight if they were trained by the State Department than if they were trained by the Freedom Academy. I don't know if that is a valid accusation, but at least that is my first reaction.

Then, as far as research is concerned, it seems to me that under the Freedom Academy the research goes much beyond the normal State Department operation.

Then in the next to the last paragraph, the letter states that:

The [State] Department doubts the value of any effort to centralize and standardize the dissemination of information in such areas. This would appear to be a marked departure from the traditional role of the Federal Government in the field of political education.

They are speaking of the problem raised by several of the Freedom Commission bills regarding Federal control. “Under the provision entitled ‘Information Center,’” the letter states—

the Freedom Commission would be “authorized to prepare, make and publish textbooks and other materials, including training films, suitable for high schools, college and community level instruction.” \* \* \*

Well, Mr. Chairman, as far as the Freedom Academy is concerned these documents would be factual material on communism, whereas the State Department puts out documents designed to its policies. It would seem to me this is much more indoctrination than factual material on Communists.

Those, sir, are about all the comments I would like to make because I really have not had an opportunity to study the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Now would you care to make an observation or so with reference to the Dominican Republic situation, as related to the applicability of this bill if it had been law years ago?

Mr. SMITH. I would like to, but not in great detail because you are going to question the former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic; and he obviously knows more about the situation than I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. I would just like to say that in September of 1963 I wrote an article for the *New York Journal American*, which appeared 4 days after Juan Bosch was removed. At that time I wrote that all Americans should welcome the overthrow of Juan Bosch. I pointed out then, and I would like to point out again now that, after the assassination of Trujillo, the U.S. policymakers encouraged the removal of President Balaguer of the Republic. They feared that Balaguer would become a rightist dictator because he had served as President of the Republic under the administration of Trujillo.

Once again, as in Cuba, the U.S. was prepared to gamble on an ambitious leftwing politician in order to help the Dominican revolution succeed. So President Bosch was elected, and the American Government welcomed his election in the hope that our American form of democracy would be transplanted and implanted in the Dominican Republic, but political soil after 30 years of tyranny is arid and not fertile.

Dr. Bosch's affiliations and sympathies with leftist groups were well known to the U.S. State Department and CIA. After his election, Dr. Bosch took no action to keep out Communist societies or to prevent the infiltration of communism throughout the country.

Such Marxist-Leninist organizations as the Movimiento Popular Dominicano were allowed to take a prominent part within the political activities of the country.

Without tracing further the historical events of the country, it is obvious that if Dominican nationals had been trained in depth by the Freedom Academy, such nationals would have anticipated, and been cognizant of, the Communist infiltration in the Dominican Republic and, as a result, the state would have been much better informed as to what was going on and what the true nature of the revolutionary group was.

If the Dominican Government had been taken over by the Communists, the whole Caribbean would have become a Red lake. Cuba is already a Communist nation. British Guiana is on the brink. If the Dominican Republic had become a Communist nation, Haiti would soon have been engulfed. Fortunately, President Johnson landed our troops just in time to avert this catastrophe.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pool.

Mr. POOL. There is some criticism of the Freedom Academy, not for the Freedom Academy, but there is some criticism that I have

heard, some people think if you establish a Freedom Academy that the extreme leftists or pro-Communist groups could infiltrate that.

Do you have a comment on that?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pool, did you say that the criticism comes from extreme left and extreme right?

Mr. POOL. Well, some people have said this. I think it is more from the right.

Mr. SMITH. That would be from the extreme right; yes sir. Of course it is very difficult to make happy either the extreme left or the extreme right. After all, the President of the United States is going to appoint the members of the Freedom Commission, and the members of the Freedom Commission, as I understand it, will have to receive approval of the U.S. Senate. FBI checkups will be made on all members of the Commission. Any validity to such a fear would also apply to other branches of our Government. If the "Commies" are going to take over in this country, they will do so in other branches of the Government just as quickly as they will in the Freedom Academy.

Mr. POOL. I appreciate your remarks for the record. This is a criticism that can be answered by your remarks. I appreciate it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ichord.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Smith, I wish to express our appreciation for your coming before the committee and making your valuable contribution. Mr. Pool brought up a very interesting point. I would like to comment on the history of this legislation and ask for your comments on the same.

The bill was first introduced back in 1959. In 1960 it passed the Senate by a unanimous vote, without a dissenting vote. I don't think there was a rollcall on the vote, but there was not a dissenting vote.

When I first heard the testimony about the bill, I was a little skeptical. I thought that the State Department would have some real sound objections to the bill. The State Department appeared before the committee, and about the only thing I could glean from their objections was the point that you mentioned, that they were concerned that this measure would infringe upon their traditional territory or jurisdiction.

As Mr. Pool indicated, the opposition seems to come from both the extreme right and the extreme left. The extreme right are afraid that it might be infiltrated by the extreme left and it would be a dangerous situation.

Of course, if you are going to adopt that view, you might as well give up the fight altogether. I suppose if there is any opposition from other than the two extremes, it is in regard to the information center in the bill.

Personally, I don't think the information center is the most important part of the bill. I would be willing to delete it in order to get the Academy itself so we can do research of training into the ways and means of fighting the cold war.

I would like to have your comment on that point.

Mr. SMITH. First of all, sir, I believe this bill is so meritorious that if the American people were aware of the bill and understood it, they would insist upon its passage.

Mr. ICHORD. I believe the people are aware of it because in 1960 the Gallup Poll conducted a poll on it. I think the people voted 10 to 1 in the Gallup Poll for the legislation. We still don't have it.

Mr. SMITH. This bill has bipartisan support. I think that, after all, whether you are a Republican or Democrat or a liberal or a conservative, the people supporting these bills are Americans first.

That is the reason why they are supporting the bill.

May I ask you to please repeat again the question you wanted me to comment on? Was that the research-end part of it?

Mr. ICHORD. Here is the thing that concerns me. I believe this is the 11th day of hearings which started back in February of last year. We have no one who has appeared before the committee and tried to take this bill apart. It is my position that no legislation is perfect. It can always be improved upon.

I have been a little concerned about not having anyone here giving real opposition to the bill. I would like to know its weak points. I am pretty sure there are some weak points. Any legislation has weak points.

Mr. SMITH. I would hate like the dickens to try to take this bill apart. You would not have much to support your views on. One of the objections I see is that it may cost too much. They are talking about \$35 or \$40 million.

Well, as far as the security of the U.S. is concerned, if we are going to worry now about \$35 or \$40 million, I know many places where they can save much more money than that.

Mr. ICHORD. I feel there is an urgent need for the research and training which would be afforded by this bill.

As I sat on the floor of the House this week and we voted upon the \$700 million bill, I thought time and time again that we would be in all-out war today if we had anybody to fight.

Our problem is that we really don't have the enemy out front to fight. All people, both of the leftwing philosophy and the rightwing philosophy and the middle-of-the-road philosophy, recognize that there is a cold war going on today. What is happening in South America, Africa, Southeast Asia today is merely a fulfillment of the promises of Communist leaders themselves.

Khrushchev said, "We will bury you." He also said, "Peaceful co-existence does not mean that there will be peaceful co-existence of ideology."

At the same time he said, "We will support wars of liberation against the capitalist nations all over the world." I think he would have more accurately described his intentions if he had said "wars of world conquest," but that essentially is his statement. What is happening is proof that he meant what he said.

Now if we don't learn how to fight a cold war, if the Communists continue to knock over one small nation, one emerging nation, after the other, it could very well result in a hot war.

We had testimony the other day put in the record from the State Department about schools along this line that the Communists are conducting. How many of these schools, Mr. Director, were there in Russia and Czechoslovakia?

Mr. McNAMARA. At least seven in Russia; four in Czechoslovakia. There are also a minimum of seven in East Germany, three in Hun-

gary, and two in Bulgaria. The number in Red China is not known, and Cuba has at least nine major schools.

Mr. ICHORD. That is all we know about anyway.

Mr. McNAMARA. That is right.

Mr. ICHORD. The President of the United States the other day named the Dominican Republic Communists. Nearly every one of them had attended a political or subversive warfare school in Cuba or Russia or some other place where they not only studied propaganda and subversive warfare, but also such things as how to make Molotov cocktails.

I fear very strongly that if we don't develop more effective cold war techniques the probabilities of a hot war will continue to increase.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; I think the State Department will have to come up with more valid objections than have been indicated in this letter which I just read.

Let me ask you a question, Mr. Ichord. I assume that President Kennedy voted for this bill when it came up for a voice vote in the Senate. His statement which I read to this committee was so strong that I must assume he voted at that time for the bill.

Mr. ICHORD. I would say this, Mr. Smith. That there was testimony before this committee by Mr. Grant that his group had a conference with President Kennedy. He was very much interested in the legislation, and the testimony was, as I remember it, and I can be corrected, that the State Department objected and there was, at least it was stated as a matter of opinion, that the State Department brought up the Academy of Foreign Affairs as a substitute, which does do part of the things contemplated by this bill.

President Kennedy definitely recognized the need for the legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I concur in the concern of my colleague from Missouri. I point out that we held hearing after hearing last year, again this year. I issued a press release on Monday, May 3d, announcing that we would have 2 more weeks of hearings, namely, this week and next.

I deliberately included this statement:

All persons desiring to present testimony on the bills during the hearings \* \* \* should contact Mr. Francis J. McNamara, Staff Director of the Committee \* \* \*.

The strange thing is this. Only one person in opposition has appeared thus far in person, Mr. Harriman. His main objection of X number of words was, "This would be indoctrination, indoctrination, indoctrination."

This year we have invited some more comments from the State Department. The word "indoctrination" is not used this time. I just received a letter, which I now insert in the record, from the Department of Defense. Here is their comment:

The broad objectives of the proposed legislation are praiseworthy. However, the need for the creation of new agencies for their accomplishment is questionable. \* \* \*

Why, for what reason? What argument? We are not told.

They conclude by saying, however, that they "defer to the State Department" and wind up the letter by saying:

The Bureau of the Budget advises that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the [the Department of Defense's] presentation of this report \* \* \*.

Now I reiterate—everyone in the Congress, the House, the Senate, in Government, in the private sector, news media, and every other part or segment of our society in America has been given opportunity after opportunity to come forward and testify.

We are going to move next week. They still have 10 days. I don't want on the floor any bleeding heart to say how come we were not told about it. I now present the letter of the Department of Defense for the record.

(The letter follows:)



GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

5 APR 1965

Honorable Edwin E. Willis  
Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter is in reply to your request for the views of the Department of Defense on H. R. 470, H. R. 1033, H. R. 2215, H. R. 2379 and H. R. 4389, all of which propose the creation of a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy; for the purpose of developing an integrated body of knowledge to win the non-military global struggle between freedom and communism, and to train government personnel and private citizens for this purpose.

The broad objectives of the proposed legislation are praiseworthy. However, the need for the creation of new agencies for their accomplishment is questionable. In most of their functions, the proposed agencies would duplicate the work of existing government and/or private agencies.

While the Department of Defense questions the need for the establishment of a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy to accomplish the objectives of the proposed bills we defer to the State Department and other interested agencies more directly concerned for more authoritative views on this matter.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the presentation of this report for the consideration of the Committee.

Sincerely,

L. Niederlehner  
Acting General Counsel

Mr. SMITH. What you have just said is very significant, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Smith, there was one objection that I have heard voiced and that was that the Academy could not be conducted as an open operation. The opposition stated that an institution of this nature should be a secret operation. Would you care to comment on that?

I point out that this is not an operation agency at all.

Mr. SMITH. No, this is not an operation agency. I read the testimony of Admiral Burke. I think he answered that very well when he said the truth doesn't hurt. If you tell the truth, you have nothing to be ashamed of.

Therefore, why shouldn't things be disclosed because we have nothing to be ashamed of. If the Communists disagree and say the findings of the Freedom Academy are wrong, then they will have to have facts to prove that.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. I also insert for the record the press release I mentioned, of May 3, 1965.

(The release follows:)

[For immediate release, Monday, May 3, 1965]

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Representative Edwin E. Willis (D-La.), Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, announced today that the Committee will continue hearings during the first two weeks of May on various bills to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. Hearings will then be terminated.

The Freedom Academy bills would establish a federally-financed cold war educational institution where Government officials and key persons from all walks of American life, as well as foreign officials and nationals, would receive intensive training in Communist cold war objectives, strategy and tactics. The Academy would also have the function of studying and analyzing Communist unconventional warfare techniques for the purpose of proposing methods which could be utilized by the free world to block or undercut implementation of them.

Mr. Willis pointed out that the Committee held seven days of hearings on the Freedom Academy bills last year, in the course of which thirty-seven witnesses testified or submitted statements. This year, the Committee has held three days of hearings, at which nine individuals have testified or submitted statements. With the exception of Mr. W. Averell Harriman, who testified for the State Department last year, all witnesses have endorsed the bills.

All persons desiring to present testimony on the bills during the hearings in the first two weeks of May should contact Mr. Francis J. McNamara, Staff Director of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Room 226, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Clawson.

Mr. CLAWSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In response to Mr. Ichord's statement I would like to ask this question.

As a new member of the committee, I am going to ask the chairman: If this has been before us for such a long time, why has not this committee acted on it and brought it to the floor?

The CHAIRMAN. That is how cautious we want to be, how thorough we want to be. It is a new concept, and we prefer to move with caution and be on solid ground. That is about all the answer I can conceive of, that we didn't want to have an onrush of our conceptions.

I have no preconceptions about this proposal. That was the reason for a cautionary and careful, realistic approach to the problem. We

wanted to give the American public an opportunity to express themselves.

We have had an expression through the Gallup Poll several years ago. We wanted another opportunity to test the feeling of the American public. I think that has been tested. As you know the hearings will end next week. We have two more Ambassadors to hear from.

Mr. CLAWSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am a new member of the committee. That is the reason for my question. I wasn't on the committee when previous hearings were held. I notice it has had bipartisan support in both the Senate and the House, that both political parties have had bills introduced by their members. This is one of the reasons why I wondered about the delay.

I would like to ask you a question: Could not this same kind of program be conducted throughout all the public and private educational institutions in the Nation today?

Mr. SMITH. I am sorry. I can't hear that. Would you repeat the last part.

Mr. CLAWSON. Could not the same program and the educational aspect of it be conducted within the public and private educational institutions of the Nation that exist today, without the establishment of a new facility or a new academy?

Mr. SMITH. First of all, I am not an expert on this bill. I believe in its concepts. However, I believe there has been a great deal of testimony to the effect that universities don't have the money or the time to conduct such a program in the depth and scope that is necessary.

Mr. POOL. I must say I agree with that testimony. Will you yield at this point?

Mr. CLAWSON. Yes.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Ambassador, don't you think, as a practical matter, the Government would have to support this type program for it to be a successful program?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pool has given you the answer. That is right.

Mr. CLAWSON. That is significant. We are helping them now by passing a tremendous educational bill for their support.

So I don't think this is a deterrent to their moving into this direction because we are helping them now. If it is so important—and I think it is and I am not in opposition to this program—it seems to me that the base needs to be broadened and every institution of an educational nature in the Nation should be involved in this program so that our people are forewarned and then forearmed as a result of their training in their educational institutions and the elementary schools, too.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. This will give the universities the opportunity to enter the field. They will then have a center from which to obtain the necessary material required for teaching their own students. As I understand it, there is no place today where universities may obtain sufficient material to explore this subject through research in depth.

Mr. CLAWSON. You mean we don't have people today who are knowledgeable in the field of anticommunism or pro-Americanism to the point that we can train?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir: I didn't mean to imply that. I meant to imply merely that I do not believe that there is sufficient material available for the universities today to carry on a program which would compare favorably with what is called for in the Freedom Academy Act.



The CHAIRMAN. And we have evidence to that effect, that no single university or numbers of universities, somehow, have the facilities, the abilities, the finances to come forward with the development of a program of this kind.

The record is already replete with testimony along that line.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Clawson, this should be a Government project. As President Kennedy said, this is a new form of struggle. This is a nonmilitary global conflict. It should not be left to private universities or to private enterprise to make this fund of information available. We need an academy, a place where all the experts will be together.

Mr. CLAWSON. It seems to me we need a broader base than this. I am appalled over the fact that we even have this problem in America where people are not trained in the free enterprise system, capitalistic system, to the point where they can recognize the danger signals of communism.

It seems to me we have had a failure along the line some place in our educational institutions that we have not been able to get our people acquainted with this problem. Maybe we need this approach, but I am fearful it will not have a broad enough base to do the total job and to do it in time. I think we are faced with a time element, too, as well as the educational problem.

Mr. SMITH. I think we ought to get something done. Maybe this can be improved on after it has had a fair trial. It is natural in our form of democracy for people to be reticent about getting into psychological warfare.

However, there are two ideologies in the world, and the Communists are out to destroy us. They believe it can be done without military war, that it can be done covertly. It is obvious to me that we have to prepare ourselves to fight against the Soviet research and training program in political warfare. It takes pros to fight pros.

Mr. CLAWSON. I understand that. There is no question about it. Let me ask just one further question then and I won't pursue this line of questioning any longer. Do you envision the Academy as a physical plant similar to our military academies where all of this is taking place, or do you consider it as a possible extension of this program into selected private universities or public universities?

Mr. SMITH. Well, sir, *LIFE* magazine spoke of this as a political West Point. I think that connotes an undergraduate school. It would have been better if they had said a political West Point for adults or a political West Point for college graduates or a political West Point for those who have passed the college age.

I mentioned this point in my statement before your committee. I referred to the necessity of the Academy and stated that what we needed was a United States graduate school for advanced political study and training. I emphasize the word "graduate" so that the Academy will not be confused with an undergraduate school.

The CHAIRMAN. I might mention that the record contains the testimony of knowledgeable people in the educational world with reference to the necessity for this Academy. It was brought out, and I can assert it myself, that in a number of the States of the Union, and glory to them, the legislatures of several States have enacted laws to require the teaching of a course roughly referred to as "Com-

munism versus Americanism." But upon the enactment of these laws, and one of them was passed in my State, we woke up to find out that teachers in public schools say, "What am I to teach? What do I know? Where is the reliable information?"

I had I don't know how many letters from all over the country, especially from my State, from teachers, having the strangest idea about this course, asking me, for instance, how many Communists there are in the town of Jonesville, and so on. They didn't have the wildest concept of what course ought to be taught.

I took a stab at it by saying that—I used to be a public school teacher, I taught law for 10 years—I said why don't you draw some comparisons. Talk about education, for example. Compare our system with the Soviets. That would be a good project. Why don't you compare our system of free elections, as compared to no system, along that line? Why don't you compare our constitutional provisions regarding free speech, religion, and so on, with their absence in Communist countries. This would be a good beginning.

If you are going to try to point the finger and to expect to find out how many Communists are here and there and you expect to rout them out in X number of days, I am afraid that is not the idea of these bills.

So, we are faced with that situation.

You are right, Mr. Ambassador, that no university, somehow, has been able to develop information, reliable information, on the ways and means of tactical warfare in the cold war world, and so on. That is why something ought to be done.

Mr. CLAWSON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the statement and I agree with you fully. However, I still go back to this other problem, as I see it.

The old adage that you train the child in the way it shall go and when it is old it will not depart therefrom is just as true today as when it was uttered centuries ago. I believe if we wait until we train adults and try to change their direction we are still going to miss the point in this Academy.

Now is there a new concept that this is going to be a source of research material and training techniques and operational know-how to disseminate to all of our universities? Is that going to be part of the function of the Freedom Academy as you envision it?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Clawson, I have been trying to avoid testifying on the technical parts of this bill—

Mr. CLAWSON. I will withdraw the question.

Mr. SMITH.—because there are so many people who are better qualified, like Mr. Alan Grant. He has been working on this bill, I believe, since 1952 or 1953. They have testified before this committee. For me now to appear as an expert on the technical points of the bill would be a mistake.

So I would like to duck that question if I may.

Mr. CLAWSON. I will withdraw my question. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say at this point that someone picking up the record and reading it perhaps would want to find out why there was not an explanation at this point.

Mr. McNamara, will you say two or three words concerning the operational feature of this bill?

Mr. CLAWSON. My question was this, whether the concept was going to extend or magnify the program to the point where this will be a source of material, research material, operational programs, and so on, that can be drawn upon by all the universities and educational institutions throughout the Nation, both private and public.

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. That is one of the functions of the freedom centers provided for in this bill. There will be localities, units, for dissemination of reliable information on all phases of communism. Any citizen will be able to go to these freedom centers and obtain the type information they want on various aspects of communism. This will apply to universities, apply to high school teachers, anyone who wants this information—political leaders, labor leaders, religious leaders, educational leaders.

So far as the children of the country are concerned, this is intended to be a graduate-type institution. The children of our country need, I think you will agree, education in American ideals, but this is primarily the function of the schools and the local boards of education.

What the Academy is concerned with is Communist political warfare. The adult population of our country, shall we say, the people who by their vote influence our policy—give them the education they need on Communist operations which are a threat to the security of this country and all other free nations. This is generally a more sophisticated type knowledge than the average grade or high school student can absorb. It is primarily a graduate-level school.

Mr. CLAWSON. I just don't believe the base is broad enough here in this one Academy to do the job.

Mr. POOL. Will you yield at this point?

Mr. CLAWSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you want a stronger bill?

Mr. CLAWSON. I want a stronger bill.

Mr. McNAMARA. The concept here is that there is a limit as to how far you can go. If you bring in all the peak Government personnel to be trained in fighting the cold war and train them thoroughly for 6 months or a year and if you do the same thing with leaders from all walks of American life—the trade union field, educational field, religious field, field of veterans organizations, womens groups—you will disseminate by these leaders, through their organizations and thus through the population generally, the kind of knowledge that is needed to support a sound policy.

Mr. CLAWSON. When they leave here they have the zeal of St. Paul to go out and sell this program so that they can get some effectiveness throughout the world. That is what I would like to see done. I think we need a broad base to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. I might point out that we have in a small way an effective precedent for this concept. The AFL-CIO sponsors the American Institute for Free Labor Development from their own funds and with money from big business. They bring to American shores labor leaders from the Latin and South American countries and teach them the American way of the labor movement and also about Communist strategy and tactics, particularly in the labor field. And they go back, in turn, and impart our democratic labor concepts to

their countries and also use their knowledge of communism to combat it in their native lands.

I am told that it has done a great deal of good. So that is one precedent for it. Finally I point out, again, the broad base support of this bill. Included among the authors of this bill on the Senate side are Senators Dodd, Douglas, Mundt, Goldwater, Proxmire—you can't have a broader base of political philosophy in America with that kind of support for it.

So, we ought not be too much concerned about the cries, or if that word is too strong I will use "misgivings," of the people on the right or the left. That is why, having discussed this with members of the committee and the staff, I decided to make this announcement. I made it on the floor some time ago.

The only thing we have is testimony in favor of the Academy. If anyone is in opposition, here is their chance. Don't say, like the Defense Department, "The broad objectives of the proposed legislation are praiseworthy. However, the need \* \* \* is questionable."

It is time to put up or shut up now.

MR. SMITH. They don't amplify that? They say the needs are questionable, but they don't amplify that?

THE CHAIRMAN. If it is questionable, my goodness, let us have the reasons why.

MR. CLAUSEN.

MR. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, if I could take a couple of minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Don Clausen is not a member of the committee, but he is a very interested supporter. He is the author of one of the bills. I am delighted to recognize him.

MR. CLAUSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. SMITH, I have enjoyed your comments very, very much. I think that some of the points you have made as far as the State Department is concerned certainly have brought to light one of the major issues that we have at stake, that is, certainly the State Department does not want to yield on foreign policy matters.

I think this committee certainly has done a great service for the American public. I think as Members of Congress we certainly need to develop a program that is going to be responsive to us and coordinate this, of course, with all of the agencies because many people are writing to us.

The fact that the director of this committee has pointed out that there are educational facilities all over the Soviet Union and some other satellite nations teaching communism, purely for the purpose of export, it would appear to me certainly desirable to have the Freedom Academy so that we can teach freedom and export freedom.

This is a great struggle; it will be with us for sometime to come. As you pointed out frankly, the Communists are sending hard-core, trained professionals, and we are sending kids out to do the job.

Again I would like to go into this in more depth, but I hope that I can hold my comments for the floor of the House after it passes the committee, Mr. Chairman.

MR. SMITH. May I say one thing, Mr. Chairman. Because of my experience I would recommend that the chiefs of the political divisions of all Embassies, located in a politically turbulent nation, attend the Freedom Academy before being assigned to their posts. I think this is very important.

Mr. CLAWSON. A compulsory requirement?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir; I am not suggesting it be compulsory. I am making this as a specific recommendation. In other words, the State Department will come back and say, well, how many of our people do you think should attend the Academy. It is obvious that all the officers of the Foreign Service can't attend the Academy.

So, I am selecting what I believe to be one of the most sensitive positions in an Embassy—the First Secretary for Political Affairs. He is in direct contact with the various political groups in the nation, whether they are progovernment or antigovernment.

The office of the chief political officer in Havana during the Castro Communist revolution was on the fifth floor, where I was. All types of individuals came up to see him. If he had been trained in the Freedom Academy, he would have had more knowledge of communism and a better background to cope with the situation. This is obvious.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you concluded?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I recognize the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, if he has concluded—

The CHAIRMAN. First, Mr. Ambassador, we are very grateful for your appearance and your great contribution to this proposal.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM MISSOURI

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement that I have prepared and I ask permission to insert in the record. All the members of the committee know my views on these bills, and certainly we will have an opportunity to discuss them in executive session. But I would like to point out that, in addition to my service on this committee, I am also a member of the Armed Services Committee and yesterday we took up a bill providing for the procurement of ammunition and hardware, various implements of war. Included in that bill was the sum of \$6 billion for research. We are researching in the field of weapons that to many people would be unbelievable. We are spending better than \$50 billion a year to support our armed services. We have built up one of the greatest war machines in the history of mankind. We are able to fight a hot war and defend ourselves.

Certainly I don't want that hot war to come and I don't want to be a prophet of doom; I don't want to play the part of a prophet, but if the present trend continues, we could very easily become engaged in another worldwide conflict.

You don't have to take my word for it; you don't have to take the word of the leaders of our Government. All you have to do is to take the word of the Communist leaders themselves. When they make the statements which Mr. Smith pointed out, when they say we will support wars of liberation all over the world, and then proceed to support and push wars of conquest from one end of the globe to another, we should realize the danger.

The American people to me seem to be obsessed with the idea that the Communists are going to become less and less belligerent, that

they will experience a change of heart. This appears to be, at its best, just mere wishful thinking. I can't see any factual basis for that belief at all.

Last week, Mr. Myerhoff, head of one of the great advertising concerns in this country, testified, and, Mr. Chairman, I am sure you read his statement, but I wish it would have been possible for you to have heard him. He presented many novel ideas. He stated that he thought that the Communists were using techniques in selling their ideology, in carrying on political and propaganda warfare, that had long been developed by the American advertising industry.

I can see instances where they are. I don't believe advertising techniques would in all cases be effective in selling democracy, but at least in this institution you could examine his proposals and see if that is the best way to proceed. We could assemble the best minds of our country and research and develop effective techniques of cold war defense. We are spending \$6 billion this year on hot weapon research and development. Can't we afford to spend the relatively small sum called for by these bills for cold war research and development?

He made the statement, Mr. Chairman, that one of the great problems that we had in USIA was the policy of reporting all of the news in the United States because unfortunately the things that make the news are bad. That is true.

Now I could condemn the State Department, I could condemn the USIA. I decline to do that because I have sympathy for them. It is quite a problem. We have some very dedicated people in the State Department and the USIA, but something is wrong, and I think it is very simple—our techniques are in need of improvement.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

Mr. CLAUSEN. In addition to your own comments, Mr. Ichord, it would appear to me that there has to be a national declaration of policy to win the cold war and then develop the institution to train people and, in particular, to move out into the private sector to take advantage of the nonmilitary capabilities.

If we are going to win this great struggle of ours, certainly we are going to have to train people. I think frankly the public sector has a responsibility, but our foreign aid problems throughout the world have pointed out very vividly that the public-to-public sector concept has not been working.

We need to expand people-to-people. I think this would give a great opportunity.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Myerhoff brought to the attention of the committee a publication of USIA which was similar to *LIFE* magazine. In it he showed us pictures of racial riots that were published in this magazine to be distributed in Poland.

I am sure that USIA's motive was to assure the people of Poland that in this country we have freedom of assembly. But Mr. Meyerhoff argued, and I am inclined to believe that he is right, that the Communists very quickly picked this up to show that we have great internal trouble, that we don't have a stable Nation, that we are about

to be involved in civil war. Whether or not the effect of the article was good or bad, I think we can all agree that this policy needs to be examined and studied and perhaps refine our methods of getting ideas across. We should be truthful, but should we publish pictures of race riots abroad with the aim of improving our image? Isn't there a better way of explaining our racial problems to a nation completely unfamiliar with those problems?

Mr. Chairman, I would ask leave that my statement, together with three articles, be included in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement and extraneous material will be received at this point.

(Congressman Ichord's statement and insertions follow:)

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE  
FROM MISSOURI

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

As you and the other members of the subcommittee know, I am the author of H.R. 2215, one of the eight Freedom Academy bills now pending before this committee.

Last year, nine bills to create the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy were introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities. We held hearings for 7 days on those bills, and a total of 38 persons testified or submitted statements on them. All but one of those witnesses—Mr. Harriman speaking for the Department of State—strongly endorsed the Freedom Academy concept.

So far this year we have held 3 days of hearings, during which several witnesses have testified. Every one of those witnesses has endorsed the Freedom Academy idea. I appear today for the same purpose.

All of us are thoroughly familiar with the Freedom Academy envisaged in the bills pending before the committee. For this reason I do not intend to discuss their details. What I would like to do, however, is to bring to the attention of the committee some facts and items which have come to my attention in the last few months and which emphasize, at least to me, the importance of the bills before us and how vital it is that the United States get along with the job of making the Freedom Academy a reality.

I should like to bring to the attention of the committee an item from the *New York Times*, page 3, of the issue of April 11, this year, which tells about a Communist political warfare school, the Institute of National Minorities in Kunming, the capital city of the Yunnan Province in Red China. This is a school established by Peking in an effort to tighten, and guarantee, its control of national minorities in or bordering on Red China and also the people of Tibet, that unfortunate Himalayan kingdom which was completely subjugated by Peking in 1959 after many thousands of its citizens had been slaughtered in an unsuccessful and bloody revolt against Red rule.

The minorities about which Peking is concerned and to whom this school devotes its attention include not only the Tibetans and residents of Sinkiang Province, but also various tribes living along the border of Burma, Laos, and North Vietnam—people who are ethnically linked to Red China's neighbors.

According to the *New York Times* article, about 1,000 hand-picked students from these areas are receiving training and indoctrination in this Institute of National Minorities at any given time. The courses extend some 6 months to 3 years.

The *Times* article quotes the deputy director of the Institute as stating: "We are different from other educational institutes—we are a political institute for training minority cadres with Communist ideas."

I also have several items which have appeared in the press recently concerning the role of the U.S. Information Agency in Vietnam.

The first, an Associated Press dispatch published in the *Washington Evening Star* of March 28, of this year, states that our country intends to increase its propaganda efforts in Vietnam. It quotes the USIA Director, Carl T. Rowan, who had just returned from South Vietnam, as stating that during the past year USIA officers in that country had been increased from 24 to 55 and that perhaps another 20 will be sent out. He also stated that the number of South Vietnamese employees of USIA had been increased, that USIA shortwave broadcasts from the Philippines have been strengthened and the USIA broadcasts in Vietnamese raised from 2 to 6 hours daily.

Mr. Rowan, according to this article, pointed out after his return from South Vietnam that the government there is so busy fighting the Viet Cong that it has little time—and also lacks the know-how—to counteract the Red propaganda activity.

The next item, published in the *Washington Star* of April 3, of this year, reveals that the State Department had issued an urgent appeal to key personnel to volunteer their services in South Vietnam. Foreign Service officers, it stated, are needed to serve as representatives for the Agency for International Development in South Vietnam provinces. AID lacks the personnel to do this work. The notice stated, and I quote “the President personally attaches the highest priority to that effort and to our participation in it.”

Items published in the Washington press on April 7—just a few weeks ago—reveal that President Johnson had ordered USIA Director Rowan to take charge of our psychological war efforts in Vietnam. In addition to having charge of his own agency's psychological warfare operations, Mr. Rowan will have charge of those of the Department of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency, and Agency for International Development.

I certainly hope, as I know all members of this committee do, that this program will be successful. I cannot help wondering, however, why we have had to wait until the last minute or so for this effort to be made when it has been obvious for so many years that we have been engaged in a very crucial political warfare contest in South Vietnam. I find it hard to understand why the steps I have just mentioned were not taken 2, 3, 5, or even 7 or 8 years ago.

According to these press items I have mentioned, there is a tremendous job to be done. In this effort the USIA is going to try to influence an estimated 50 percent of the South Vietnamese population which is now “fence-sitting.” It is going to try to create a sense of national unity, ward off defeatism, explain the U.S. involvement and commitment in South Vietnam, publicize Viet Cong tactics.

According to testimony received by this committee this last year from competent witnesses, the United States has not been training adequate numbers of personnel adequately in the work that has to be done today in South Vietnam. The State Department appeal for volunteers stated that “broad experience and versatility of skills are important for this assignment,” and that the Foreign Service officers going to Vietnam on this project as province representatives will have to work with the U.S. military adviser and the native province chief in “planning and directing the pacification of the province.”



The situation is so desperate that five officers were needed immediately at the time the appeal was made. I wonder just how much training they have had in pacification techniques and in fighting Communist political warfare. It would appear to me that an admission that the training of State Department personnel in this area has been far from adequate is found in the fact that 10 additional Foreign Service officers will be given a 4½-month training program here in the United States before being assigned to Vietnam to work on this project.

For years, Mr. Chairman, advocates of the Freedom Academy have been pointing out the great gap that exists in this type of training for U.S. personnel. They have been urging that a Freedom Academy be established to impart this kind of training as well as other vital unconventional warfare skills. Nothing has been done about it.

Today, we have a crisis in this area and we still do not have any kind of institution to train the personnel we need to do the job that has to be done. We have all kinds of psychological warfare and political warfare specialists in our Government and, of course, we have our propaganda officials as well, but none of them, apparently, has been able to perceive or understand until recently the need for real intense political and psychological warfare effort in Vietnam.

Last year we were fortunate in having as witnesses a number of journalists of very wide experience, who emphasized the need for political warfare training in their own profession. Since listening to their testimony, I have seen a considerable number of articles dealing with communism, both abroad and at home, which have emphasized the importance of what these witnesses said.

We know that the Communist bloc is attaching a great importance to control and use of the press and other communications media as a cold war weapon. If we are not to lose out in this area, we need an institute where free world journalists can be taught the facts about political warfare and the vital role both the Communist and the free world press play in it.

I would like to submit for the record at this point an article entitled "Journalism and the Cold War," published in the January 1965 issue of *The Quill*, official publication of the journalist fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi.

The article is written by Eugene H. Methvin, a member of the Washington staff of the *Reader's Digest*. Mr. Methvin, who studied journalism in the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism in Atlanta, has long been a student of communism and its unconventional warfare techniques. His article, which emphasizes another one of the major gaps in our defense against communism and shows how we suffer from this gap, will, I hope, be an important addition to this hearing record.

(The article follows:)



FIFTY CENTS

# *The* QUILL

*The Magazine for Journalists*

53 YEARS OF PUBLICATION

JANUARY 1965

## **Every Newsman Practices Psychiatry without a License**

—JOHN DeMOTT

## **JOURNALISM AND THE COLD WAR**

—EUGENE R. METHVIN

## **Students' Newspaper Idea Helps Bridge Detroit Strike Gap**

—WALLACE WYSS

## **IT HAPPENED IN KANSAS CITY: Sigma Delta Chi Convention Report**

# JOURNALISM AND

By EUGENE H. METHVIN

Reader's Digest

WHEN THE NEWLY independent Sultan of Zanzibar was overthrown last January New York Times Correspondent Robert Conley put himself in the running for a Pulitzer prize with his stories revealing that the power seizure was engineered by 30 or 40 communists trained in Cuba, the Soviet Union and Communist China. This was brilliant cold war coverage that alerted the American people to brewing trouble in yet another sector of what Adlai Stevenson calls the "world civil war."

But the American people could be even better served if journalists were prepared to "background" such news with a knowledge of the communist revolutionary training schools and what they teach. For example, last Jan. 20 Conley reported: "The real power is concentrated in the hands of the vice president, Kassim Hanga, a bitter opponent of the West. He studied international law in Moscow and has a Russian wife."

And what do Africans study in Moscow's "international law" course? We know what one Nigerian student, Anthony G. Okotcha, got. He found himself among 200 other students from Africa, Central America and Asia in a class in "self defense," rigorous paramilitary training in the guerrilla arts. "One army officer told me, 'Remember, today you are a student, but tomorrow you

will be a leader of a revolutionary front,'" Okotcha reports.

His next study was "occult science," a witch-doctor class arranged exclusively for African students. An African affairs expert in perfect Swahili lectured surrounded by plastic human skulls and skeletons, plastic serpents of various sizes. "One witch doctor carrying on among primitive people can do more than a dozen political lecturers," he said. "He can move the masses in any way he chooses. Well, then, supposing he is a communist?"

The professor placed a skull on the table and using radio microphones caused it to issue commands such as: "I am your ancestor speaking. I command you to go tonight, kill the British governor, and bring his head and hands to me. If you fail I will cast evil spells on you and your family."

With this background, it is not hard to add two plus two—and the obvious answer is more trouble of the Mau-Mau type in all of East Africa in coming years as the communists turn Zanzibar into an unsinkable Cuba-style little red schoolhouse. (It is already happening, under Red Chinese tutelage, in the eastern Congo. A special school near Peking is training witch doctors in guerrilla warfare and upon their return they are organizing tribal insurgency.) (Editor's Note: This article was written prior to the November outbreak of conflict in the Congo.) Certainly this is an indispensable part of "depth" reporting on this cold war round. And any news commentator or desk man in America who had bothered to get himself on the mailing list for Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reports could have produced sparkling "interp" pieces backgrounding the Zanzibar development—for that is where Okotcha's account is to be found.

This Zanzibar example illuminates a major problem many thoughtful journalists see confronting America's free press today. Simply put, the problem is this: The professional practitioners in our communications media are not generally equipped to recognize communist-inspired violence, deception and psychopolitical manipulation and to adequately "background the news" on thousands of complex cold war skirmishes being fought daily around the globe. This problem can mean "opportunity" for the professional—cash, recognition and satisfaction for those with reportorial initiative to dig out and write the "depth" stories nobody else is tackling.

Let me cite a minor personal experience. After the June 1960 riots in Tokyo forced cancellation of President Eisenhower's visit, a *Reader's Digest* editor asked

## THE AUTHOR

Eugene Methvin was born in 1934 in Vienna, Ga., where his father was a country weekly editor and publisher of the Vienna News. His mother still operates the paper and has won Georgia Press Association prizes for "most fearless editorial" in duel with the White Citizens Councils, and for general excellence (runner-up). Young Methvin could lay claim to having started as a reporter (leg-man only) before he could write, for at the age of five he wandered around the streets with pad and pencil insisting that the residents write down their news for him. He studied journalism at the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, graduating in 1955 with an ABJ and supplementary major in law. Upon graduation he spent three years as a jet fighter pilot. In 1958 he joined the Washington Daily News as a general assignment reporter and in 1960 he went to the Reader's Digest at its Washington editorial office as a staff writer. He is treasurer of the Washington Professional chapter.



# THE COLD WAR

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the obvious question nobody else seemed to have thought of: "All the newspapers say these riots are red-inspired. How do we know? If you're a communist, how do you start a riot?"

Assigned to get the answer, I asked my State Department contact to set up an interview with the Department experts on such things. "Sure," he said, "Call you back in a day or so." Two weeks passed. My friend finally called, quite crestfallen. "I hate to tell you this, and frankly I'm a little shocked myself. I've checked everywhere. *Nobody* in the entire U.S. government really keeps up with these things."

Realizing we had stumbled onto a major gap in our cold war defenses, the *Digest* Washington Bureau initiated what became a series of stories on national policy machinery and communist tactics. Meanwhile, fascinated by a whole new world I never knew existed, I spent six months digging into mob psychology and crowd management and researching case studies. The result was an article which was published in a relatively obscure scholarly journal. The U.S. Army Command & General Staff School picked it up for its *Military Review*, and the State Department sent a briefed version to all 375 U.S. diplomatic posts overseas. The article has been adopted in our own armed forces training texts, translated into Spanish and circulated among Latin American services, and to my utter dismay the Army has even invited me as an expert to lecture on communist mob techniques.

This experience shows how widespread is the information gap on what has been called "the new frontier of war." Other examples:

## PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION—

American journalists were poorly equipped to "background" the Dallas tragedy because assassination as a political weapon is so utterly foreign to us. Americans find it hard to connect the act of handing a 15-year-old boy a hate-filled pamphlet on the Rosenbergs, condemned nuclear spies, and that youth's act nine years later of shooting the President of the United States. Yet there is a connection. Although psychiatrists recognized Oswald was potentially dangerous when he was 13 still he is a case study of how inflammatory communist propaganda can attract, activate, and motivate a confused, frustrated individual and give direction and focus to his aggressive behavior. The lesson Oswald so eloquently teaches is *that inflammatory communist propaganda can kill*. Yet reporting on the sociology and psychology of communist organizational and psychological warfare is generally distinguished chiefly by its shallowness.

Beyond Oswald the whole history of communist assassination as a political weapon was relevant background the press missed. Nobody pointed out that the Soviets were caught using it in Western Europe as late as 1959, for example. A few commentators pointed out that Lenin condemned assassination—but they only demonstrated that a little knowledge can be dangerous.

For Lenin only condemned the approach of the *Narodnaya Volya* terrorists, one of whom was his older brother Alexander, hanged for plotting to kill the Czar. Lenin said that assassination used indiscriminately would be counter-productive, especially if it took the place of careful organizational work. But he not only never ruled out assassination. He always considered it an integral part of the revolutionary's arsenal and insisted that communists be willing and able to use all weapons, including murder. He required all Communist parties formed under the Communist International to set up secret apparatuses. The German Party, for example, organized covert M(military), N (intelligence), Z (infiltration), and T (terror) groups. We have some well-authenticated and corroborated accounts of the early beginnings of the communist T-groups in Germany. Their function was to punish traitors and to murder anti-communist political and military leaders. Most interesting was the emergence of a willingness to use the T-groups to solve intra-party differences. With the Khrushchev-Mao feud heating up the history of this intra-mural use of the communist T-squads it may one day prove to be a vital part of one of the biggest news stories of our century.

ANTI-CIA CAMPAIGN—Any psychological warfare technician knows that in his adversary's society there are always groups and individuals who will share his objectives and do his work for him, for their own independent moral or political reasons. In his jargon these are called "targets of opportunity." In Western society, for example, the communist warrior knows there inevitably are people who will oppose almost any policy of their governments that he wants to attack always for their own independent reasons. The Red strategist's problem then becomes: How to activate the opposition? The answer is the simple stratagem of throwing the spotlight of publicity on the issue and draw the target group's attention to it. Such has been the nature of the Soviet campaign to discredit the CIA and undermine public confidence in it. Enough Americans fear any secret agency and abhor the idea of a "department of dirty tricks" so that to draw their attention to its existence guarantees a substantial public opposition and steady drumfire of criticism, controversy

## JOURNALISM AND THE COLD WAR . . . continued

and suspicion. (Of course the agency earns some of its criticism quite honestly!)

Nikita Khrushchev's seemingly casual remarks on his 1959 tour of the United States about the CIA set this strategy of exposure rolling. The most famous incident was carefully staged at the White House within easy earshot of reporters when Khrushchev met CIA Director Allen Dulles and joked about paying the same spies and reading the same reports. Throughout his tour Khrushchev's remarks were repeated too often and too prominently to have been genuinely casual. Since that time we have learned the Soviet KGB has set up a special section assigned to think up and execute deception operations to discredit the CIA. It's called—shades of "1984"—the "Disinformation Bureau."

Among its favored weapons are the forgery, the fake news story, the planted rumor. On April 23, 1961, when the Bay of Pigs and the Algerian generals' revolt were top news, a crypto-communist newspaper in Rome, *Il Paese*, carried a story declaring that "some people in Paris are accusing the American secret service headed by Allen Dulles of having participated in the plot of the four 'ultra' generals."

This paper, testified Assistant CIA Director Richard Helms later, is frequently "used as an outlet for disingenuous Soviet propaganda." TASS promptly relayed the story, and the London *Daily Worker* and the Paris communist daily *L'Humanite* headlined: "U.S. SPY AGENCY ENCOURAGED REVOLT." Simultaneously the Polish press attache spread it in Paris bars where newsmen hang out. Soon the free world press services—not one of them aware of the story's origins—splashed it onto front pages everywhere. This Moscow-manufactured "fable," as such intelligence gambits are called, was taken up by Paris officialdom anxious to redeem French honor by proving their rebellious officer corps had been inspired from abroad. They drew hot words from the U.S. Ambassador and White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, in Paris preparing for a presidential visit. Salinger accused Pierre Baraduc, French Foreign Office press chief, of putting out the story to put President Kennedy at a disadvantage with General De Gaulle. "I'm not putting it out," Baraduc replied. "It seems to have sprung from nowhere. But you have to admit the story sounds logical." The Western press continued to play it for a week without any idea where it originated.

**FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE**—On April 6, 1960, the New York *Times* carried a full-page ad branding as "false" the rising tide of news reports indicating Castro's communist ties. "Not a shred of evidence has been produced," the ad proclaimed, praising the "great work of revolutionary reform now in progress in Cuba." Thirty citizens calling themselves the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" signed it. The FBI

very quickly flagged the Fair Play Committee as a typical front operation initiated by individuals with known public record communist links, and reporters who bothered to inquire were so informed as early as the summer of 1960. Yet so few bothered that the Fair Play Committee was able to organize 30 committees in major American cities, 40 college chapters, and enlist 10,000 students, adults, and subscribers who contributed at an annual rate of \$45,000 for this propaganda effort. On Oct. 20, 1960, 1500 people attended a New York rally urging "hands off Cuba" at a time when growing communist influence in that unhappy isle was a presidential campaign issue.

Not once, so far as diligent inquiry reveals, did any newspaper or wire service reporter do a story revealing the known facts of communist involvement, organizational talent and publicity support going into the "Fair Play" operation or suggest that this was a communist-inspired maneuver.

Indeed, when the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee initiated hearings it was hotly denounced by a leading magazine and a score or more newspapers for "McCarthyism." Yet the subcommittee got nothing like equal notice when a young Cuban physician testified that he had gone with the Fair Play Committee's organizer to U.N. headquarters to pick up \$3500 from Raul Roa, Jr., a member of the Cuban delegation and son of Castro's foreign minister, for the *Times* ad that kicked off the whole operation.

"The whole sad episode reveals a deep double standard," says Sen. Thomas J. Dodd. "Show too many people a nutty right-wing outfit like the Birch Society and they are off like chargers, eager to do battle. Editors send reporters to their meetings, probe their organizational structure, and hound them with steady criticism. But they are not interested in a Fair Play for Cuba Committee, organized with secret communist financial support by an ex-convict who is actively misleading thousands of innocent students and using them to advance Moscow's grand strategy. Yet that organization proved itself capable of inciting and channeling the hatred of the sick soul who killed the President of the United States."

**THE GAP IN JOURNALISM EDUCATION**—Recent scholarship in the history of revolutionary movements forces us to realize that the "cold war" between democratic due process and revolutionary totalitarianism has been with us, on a minor scale, since the French Revolution, and that the totalitarians have developed a thorough technology of planned violence and social demolition. The persistent recurrence of domestic extremist groups ranging from the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Muslims, and the pro-Chinese communist splinter factors indicates these phenomena are likely to be with us indefinitely. Since they borrow liberally from

each other their methods are generally uniform, and covering them adequately requires specialized background knowledge.

One cause of the inadequacy of cold war coverage so far is that journalism schools have paid so little attention to it. Of course, thus far the profession has not asked them to supply journalists trained in what has up to now not been recognized as a specialty. When the demand exists, they will supply it. They give courses in science writing, political affairs reporting, even book reviewing—but not propaganda, psychological warfare, and the sociology of political conflict.

But more and more is this gap being recognized as editors turn to "depth" reporting to meet growing readership sophistication and compete with electronic media on "spot" news. It is not too optimistic to predict that in a few years every newspaper large enough to have a business editor, garden writer, or editorial page editor will also have some staffer who has made some special study of the sociology and psychology of extremist groups and hate ideologies, and who devotes at least part time to keeping track of communist strategy and tactics—for example, by reading *The Worker* twice weekly (subscriptions cost \$7.00 yearly), or the Moscow-published monthly of the international communist movement, *International Affairs* (available in English for \$3.50 a year).

Even so, the current vacuum in journalism education concerning psychopolitical warfare, which tremendously affects the mass communications media, is a little surprising. The Library of Congress at the request of Sen. Karl Mundt (R., S.D.) surveyed 46 journalism departments accredited in 1962 by the American Council on Education for Journalism and found that 22 offered no courses even brushing psychological warfare and propaganda, insofar as course descriptions indicated. In the rest, 51 courses bore amorphous titles ranging from "Attitudes and Media Research Methods" to "The Press and World Affairs." Only eight schools out of the entire 46 had courses bold enough to mention the word "propaganda" in their title and the course descriptions showed that most were irrelevant. Out of the hundreds surveyed in the entire United States, only two courses seemed to zero directly in:

1. SEMINAR IN PROPAGANDA AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE, at Boston University—primarily concerned with the study of propaganda and psychological warfare developments in the twentieth century. Major emphasis on case study approach to important private and governmental efforts at home and abroad. Special attention to social and political implications of such activities. Evaluations of worth of different methods of persuasion and of utilization of the mass media of communication. Direct importance of these subjects to the free societies, the garrison states, and the under-developed areas in the world. A three semester-hour course.

2. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND PROPAGANDA, at Washington & Lee University—"Functions, tactics and media of psychological and political warfare, with special reference to World War II and contemporary world conflict. Or-

ganization and strategy of information programs; cultural propaganda; military procedures." A three-hour course.

Prof. O. W. Riegel, who teaches the Washington & Lee class, says his course deals directly with psychological manipulation and the cold war. "We try to cover the policy-making apparatus of the United States and Soviet Union, the propaganda directives of the two countries, and how their propaganda works out in practice. We spend quite a bit of time on Soviet and communist operations. But we make no case studies or post mortems on communist manipulations of the Western press."

Washington & Lee graduates only eight or nine journalism majors annually. If the Library of Congress survey is indicative, pitifully few of the annual crop of American journalism graduates get even a whiff of this vital subject matter.

There is a silver lining however. Prof. Riegel's course has proved so popular it attracts 30 to 50 students every year from history and political science majors. And he says it excites a lot of student interest, indicating there will be a good campus "market" for such courses if journalism departments introduce them.

Recognizing that courses outside the journalism schools would be available to journalism students, the Library of Congress checked the full curricula of the five metropolitan universities of Washington, D.C. Since these have many students studying for military, diplomatic and other government careers, they offer highly non-typical concentrations on international affairs and conflict. But even they offered only two courses whose descriptions might attract a journalism student shopping the university catalog for a good survey of psychopolitical warfare and propaganda. Catholic University offers "Strategy and Tactics of Organized Communism," and Georgetown University, even though its international relations school is renowned as a "prep" school for the Foreign Service, offers only one, "Propaganda, Political Warfare and Revolutionary Techniques in the 20th Century." Teaching this six-hour course is Dr. James D. Atkinson, a recognized authority who was consultant to President Truman's Psychological Strategy Board, a veteran intelligence officer and National War College lecturer.

But there's still a hitch.

"The last time I taught the course I had nine students—and no journalists," Dr. Atkinson reports.

The simple fact is that a journalist who has not studied the history of communist operational techniques is hardly more equipped to report or comment on today's world or handle copy on the cold war than a doctor who has never studied the measles syndrome is competent to practice medicine.

He needs a solid factual course on the sociology, psychology and history of insurgency, guerrilla warfare, urban terrorism, and the organizational warfare tech-

# JOURNALISM

and the

## COLD WAR ... continued

niques of the communists. This doesn't mean turning journalists into witch hunters, but they should *know* more about such operations historically, *write* and *talk* more about them so that the American people will be better informed, all in a cool, calm, factual and sophisticated fashion. The history of Soviet psychological warfare and policy sabotage through such operations as the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Harry Dexter White-Alger Hiss interlocking subversion rings should be as much a part of the equipment of every journalist as the John Peter Zenger trial and the Hearst role in the Spanish-American War.

Recently, Allen W. Dulles, former CIA director addressing the American Association of School Administrators, made an appeal that could be addressed to the nation's journalism educators as well:

"I am convinced that unless we increase our understanding of the real nature of the communist threat and improve upon our techniques to meet it, the past may well prove to be the prologue to further advances of communism. The nature of the communist apparatus must be exposed to the world as best we can, through the press, through publications, in public addresses and in the schoolrooms. The fact that it has at times been able to work in secret until the moment of actual takeover has been a major contributing cause of the success they have had. I earnestly ask you to find a place for teaching the hard facts about the communist program to undermine our free way of life"

Ten years ago to suggest "teaching communism in the schools" was to risk being smeared by McCarthyists as "pinko". Today it means risking being labeled a "neo-McCarthyist" or "right-winger". Fortunately there is an admirable precedent that could serve as a model for professional action by a society like Sigma Delta Chi.

Today, the American Bar Association conducts a three-prong program: 1. internal self-education; 2. a continuing analysis of communist tactics, strategy and objectives; and 3. the promotion of teacher training institutes so that public school teachers may get both sound scholarly knowledge and professional guidance in presenting it. The Committee taps graduate centers such as the Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University; the University of Pennsylvania Foreign Policy Research Institute, and the University of South Carolina Institute of International Studies.

Currently the ABA is issuing two timely studies: 1. "Peaceful Coexistence—A Communist Blueprint for

Victory," a sifting of the evidence of "internal" communist communications which indicates that "peaceful coexistence" in the Red lexicon means more cold war by subversion, insurgency and social demolition techniques; 2. "Communist Propaganda on the Campus," summarizing propaganda themes now being promoted by top U.S. communists in their speaking forays on American campuses. The ABA has given both respectability and coherence to a national movement that might otherwise have turned into a McCarthyistic-Birchite brouhaha.

Isn't it time SDX, the one professional society representing all news media, joined the ABA pioneering in this field? Of course so broad or elaborate an effort is neither practical nor desirable now, but the Society might begin by establishing a committee to encourage professional development through chapter workshops, journalism courses and research. Such a committee could offer a centralized collecting point for experience, guidance and general information to interested chapters and professors. Any such undertaking is of course fraught with hazards. Opportunities for lunacy and ineptitude are legion. But the job must be done by responsible leaders or it will be botched by cranks and witch hunters. The hazards can be avoided by one common-sense rule and one corollary.

**RULE:** An SDX committee on education about communism must stick to its mission—education. Not indoctrination. Not censorship. Not name-calling. Not witch-hunting.

**COROLLARY:** The committee and the teachers, courses and workshops it would inspire must stick to *facts*. Not conjecture, not speculation, not propounding dogma, not prescribing remedies or telling journalists how to practice their profession.

Let us teach the facts about communist operational methods and propaganda themes in their orchestration of psychopolitical warfare, insofar as diligent, objective scholarship can reveal them through case studies. This knowledge should be a part of the professional equipment of every journalist in this "century of conflict." SDX, as a society devoted to truth, has a duty to help supply that equipment by encouraging the teaching and research in our journalism schools needed for a deeper, more systematic knowledge of the facts. In the spirit of the Scripps-Howard motto, the profession will then be better able to "give light and the people will find their own way." ■



The January 1965 issue of the *Reader's Digest* also featured an article written by Mr. Methvin. It was entitled "How the Reds Make a Riot." It is an excellent description of the techniques of riot-instigation, one of the unconventional warfare techniques Communists in all parts of the world are using against the United States, its allies, and, as a matter of fact, against all non-Communist governments.

Following the publication of this article in the *Reader's Digest*, Mr. Methvin received a letter from an Indonesian in the United States, who asked that the letter be kept confidential. This letter points out the desperate need of freedom-loving people in foreign nations for assistance in combating Communist efforts to take over their respective countries. The writer of this letter wants help. He has heard of the Freedom Academy and asks, "Could you please tell me how can I join the Freedom Academy?"

The reply which Mr. Methvin wrote to this Indonesian states in blunt terms, and terms which I am afraid we cannot refute, the complete inability of the United States at the present time to give to such persons really effective assistance in preventing Communists from subjugating additional nations of the world.

Why can't we give really effective help? Basically, it is because we do not have the know-how which the Freedom Academy can make available. It is because in our struggle with communism—a struggle that, if we take the Communists at their word, is going to see the end of us or of communism—we are still relying on outmoded, inadequate 19th century weapons—dollars, guns, and news and information programs delivered in a fashion with little appeal for the masses and which is not even designed to convince them that our cause is just and right and communism is evil, wrong, and inimical to their best interests.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that these last three items I have mentioned, Mr. Methvin's *Reader's Digest* article, the letter he received as a result of it, and his reply to the letter, be made a part of the record at this point. I have excised the letter in question so as to eliminate any possibility that the writer might be identified through its contents.

(The above-mentioned articles follow:)



*A Reader's Digest*

# HOW THE REDS MAKE A RIOT

BY EUGENE H. METHVIN

THE READER'S DIGEST • PLEASANTVILLE, NEW YORK

(161)

# HOW THE REDS MAKE A RIOT

BY EUGENE H. METHVIN

It's time for us to recognize—and to counteract—one of the communists' most deadly cold-war weapons: the vicious "manipulated" demonstration

A CHEMIST knows that if he drops a block of sodium into water, it will explode. An engineer knows that if he buries dynamite in proper quantities and patterns and detonates it, he can dig an irrigation ditch. A communist leader knows that if he chooses proper slogans, gathers a crowd and agitates it, he can create a riot.

The techniques of starting a riot are as simple, as scientific and as systematic as that. And ever since the beginning of the cold war the communists have been using the deadly weapon of the managed riot on every continent—to poison alliances, to topple governments, to hu-

miliate leaders, to nullify billions in foreign aid, crush American prestige and shoot holes in U.S. foreign policy. The latest instances of organized violence include bloody street fights between Buddhists and Catholics in Vietnam, food marches in India, chaos in the Congo, and mass executions by a riot-installed Red regime in Zanzibar. U.S. embassies and libraries have been mobbed and our diplomats humiliated in Indonesia, Ghana, Cyprus, Sudan and Bolivia. American businesses have been smashed in Panama and Venezuela. A recent study for the Defense Department showed that in the five preceding years in Latin America alone there were 351 reported outbreaks of communist-inspired terrorism, sabotage and guerrilla warfare, plus 299 riots, demonstrations and strikes.

Despite our diplomatic efforts, our missile strength and our military might, these riots could well defeat

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THIS ARTICLE is based on four years of research by Eugene H. Methvin, a member of the Reader's Digest Washington, D.C., staff. It represents scores of case studies of Red riots, plus hundreds of interviews with the FBI, CIA, Secret Service, police experts, academic and military-intelligence authorities, and former communists who have personally organized strikes and riots.

us in the world struggle if we don't soon learn how to cope with them.

**Red Tornado.** Consider the riot as it was wielded in Panama last January. That four-day anti-American maelstrom left 24 dead, 400 injured, two million dollars' worth of property damaged. When U. S. troops were fired on by snipers and forced to shoot back, the little republic's charges of "U.S. aggression" were blazoned around the world.

What really happened in Panama? Communists were already preparing to exploit frictions arising from a bus strike when a better issue fell into their laps. U.S. students at Balboa High School, defying agreements to fly the flags of both Panama and the United States at specified places, hoisted the U.S. flag alone on their school's flagpole.

Informants hurried the news to Panama's communist Minister of Education, Solis Palma, and within hours students and hundreds of innocent Panamanian patriots were decoyed into a Red-planned tornado. Experts, reconstructing the Panama explosion, unearthed these facts:

- "Molotov cocktails" thrown against U.S. homes, places of business and automobiles contained not improvised rags stuffed into bottle-necks but meticulously hand-sewn wicks. Student members of a pro-Castro Red organization had stayed after school making the fire bombs a full week before the riots.

- An amazed American witness stood beside a radio commentator broadcasting into a portable trans-

mitter: "Ten thousand persons are defying the bullets, going toward the Canal Zone. . . . The North American troops are machine-gunning the brave Panamanian patriots. . . . Tanks are now in our territory." What the commentator was describing bore no resemblance to the scene before them—a small crowd of spectators watching a fire-bombed Braniff Airways office burn. (Not one U.S. tank or machine gun was used during the four days of disorder.)

- A Panamanian carrying a camera rushed from the Legislative Palace, drew a pistol and shot a man in the crowd. Affidavits from onlookers have confirmed that the killer then snapped a photograph of the body, stepped into a waiting auto and sped away. Later, six known communists led a funeral procession for "martyrs murdered by the North American imperialist troops."

- Panamanian President Roberto Chiari, under pressure from communist aides and fellow travelers, ordered the troops of Panama's National Guard to stay in their barracks for four days.\* During the peak of the violence, he appeared on the Presidential Palace balcony with communist agitator Victor Avila, who tongue-lashed the crowds on to new attacks against the *Yanquis*.

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\* *At Panama's request*, the highly regarded International Commission of Jurists, from Geneva, Switzerland, conducted an on-the-scene investigation and concluded that if Panama authorities had acted promptly "the violence and damage to property and tragic casualties would not, in all probability, have occurred."

- Reliable authorities identified at least 70 communists—an estimated 55 of them trained in Cuba—agitating and directing mob action.

**Violence Step-by-Step.** The communists have studied and taught mob manipulation for 60 years. Lenin himself developed mob techniques, which he taught in a clandestine communist school at Longjumeau, France, in 1911. His bold boast: “When we have companies of specially trained worker-revolutionaries who have passed through a long course of schooling, no police in the world will be able to cope with them.” Today, from a worldwide collection of data, including captured documents and interrogations of defectors from training schools, the step-by-step stages of Red-manipulated violence can be fully revealed.

*Stage 1. Infiltrate agents into strategic organizations and mass media.* To mobilize crowds, the party must first slip operatives into newspapers, radio stations, labor unions, civic associations, college faculties, student organizations, even military and police units. In Venezuela, for example, communists dominate the principal school of journalism, at Central University in Caracas, and students are trained in how to load the press with hate ideologies.

Actual Red *control* of an organization isn’t always necessary, as Britain’s democratic labor unions learned in March 1963. When their peaceful demonstration on unemployment moved into London, Reds

sneaked into their ranks and invaded the entrance to Parliament where, traditionally, demonstrations are not allowed. Mounted police intervened, and a battle raged for an hour. Following instructions offered by the *Daily Worker* on “How to Unhorse a Cop by Quick and Certain Means,” rioters pressed lighted cigarettes against horses’ flanks. London newspapers called it one of the ugliest riots in recent history.

*Stage 2. Soften up the populace with symbols and slogans.* In the opening phase of a propaganda campaign, Red professionals never use an openly communist cause to sway people to their way of thinking. Rather, they seize upon universal aspirations for “peace,” “bread,” “civil liberties,” “freedom,” and then cast these aspirations in inflammatory “class warfare” lingo. As scapegoats for all frustration they point to “U.S. imperialism,” “capitalist exploiters” or “the white power elite.” Under a steady drumfire of such hate slogans, ordinary citizens can be worked up sufficiently to move into the streets when the communists sound their riot gongs.

So effective is the sloganeering that Reds organized riots against higher tram fares in Calcutta and higher electric rates in Buenos Aires, against U.S. forces in Japan and against a Congressional hearing in San Francisco.

*Stage 3. Draw together the mob nucleus.* Using the standard ballyhoo methods of newspaper publicity, leaflets, radio announcements and

offers of free transportation, cell chiefs attract the curious, the unhappy, the bored and the lazy who gather at any circus, fire or ruckus. Crowds may also be *hired*. In Brazil, an American mingled with demonstrators protesting the death of Red-leaning Congolese politician Patrice Lumumba. "Who is this Lumumba?" he asked the people around him. Nobody knew. "Where is the Congo?" Nobody knew that either. "Why are you here?" The answer: "I was paid ten cruzeiros."

In Japan, during the weeks of the anti-Eisenhower demonstrations in 1960, Red agitators so regularly hired all applicants away from unemployment offices that police were able to tell newsmen that the absence of lines at those offices in the morning meant certain demonstrations in the evening. Japanese security officials estimate that the five weeks of anti-American violence cost the Reds a minimum of \$1,400,000.

*Stage 4. Agitate the crowd.* Communists follow various patterns to fit the tactical situation when exploiting the mob. They may herd it closely like sheep or raise the tension like a boiler until it explodes. But the fundamental methods are the same. Here, based largely on documents captured from the Iraqi Communist Party, is how a Red "secret staff" runs off a demonstration:

External command: The riot commander and his staff take up stations well removed from the activity, from which they can observe the entire "battlefield."

Internal command: Red cadres within the crowd direct the demonstration under the external command's orders. The internal commander, always closely guarded, often posts himself near a particularly conspicuous banner so that scouts and messengers can find him at all times. (In the anti-U.S. demonstrations in Caracas in 1958, Vice President Richard Nixon found that he could identify mob leaders: they rode piggyback on the shoulders of others, to be able to see better and to give directions.)

Messengers: They carry orders and intelligence between the internal and external commands, and report on police movements.

Shock guards: Armed with pipes and staves, these men wait in reserve. If police attack the communists, they jump in and provide a blitz to cover the communists' retreat.

Cheering sections: Loud-mouthed agitators are carefully rehearsed in slogans to chant and the order in which to chant them.

Police baiters: Specially trained women scream hysterically, faint at policemen's feet or claw at their faces. Other pawns are instructed to roll marbles under the hoofs of policemen's horses, attack them with razor blades on the end of poles, or jab them with pins, causing them to rear and charge through the crowd and thus provide photographers with "proof" of "police brutality."

*Stage 5. Manufacture martyrs.* All agitators are taught to create a martyr, carry the body through the

streets, stage a big funeral, and commemorate the death as often as possible to keep alive the fanatical "struggle" atmosphere. U.S. Secret Service men saw tiny children shoved in front of Vice President Nixon's official car in Caracas. The communist hope: to create a martyr whose death could be charged to the cruel *Yanqui* imperialists.

**The Lesson Strikes Home.** These cynical techniques can work anywhere—including right here in U.S. cities, as we learned last summer. Though the FBI investigation of the riots that swept Harlem and five eastern cities uncovered no systematic national organization or planning behind them—"aside from the actions of minor organizations"—J. Edgar Hoover's report did uncover the tracks of plenty of individual communists and splinter groups. And, said Hoover, in at least two of the New Jersey cities "two individuals with histories of communist affiliation were instigators and leaders of the riots."

In Harlem, the communists helped create the atmosphere that was bound to explode. Long before the riots, they launched a conditioning campaign with repeated charges of "police brutality." Red publications in Harlem advocated armed units to fight the "drunken, prejudiced hooligan-in-uniform." Last February, Harlem police began finding pamphlets printed in Cuba by an American Negro communist, Robert F. Williams. Just back from talks with Mao Tse-tung in Red China,

he distributed, from Havana, instructions on how to adapt Mao's guerrilla tactics to U.S. city streets.

Red organizers set up block committees and captains to get out rioters the way political parties get out voters. Attempts were made to recruit jobless teen-agers, gang leaders and juvenile delinquents. Communist leaders secretly urged block captains to be ready to barrage the police at the first inflammatory incident.

Six weeks before the rioting, police began finding hoards of bottles and brickbats on Harlem rooftops. By July the "Harlem Defense Council" was claiming 30 block committees. "This is a communist organization," proclaimed William Epton, its chairman. "I am a communist. We'll work with any group in Harlem—black nationalists, Muslims, or anybody else—where we agree on issues."

It was in this atmosphere that a policeman shot and killed a knife-wielding 15-year-old Negro youth on July 16. Instantly the Red organization mobilized. Forty-eight hours after the shooting, on a tense, hot Saturday afternoon, Epton called a street rally. "We're going to have a demonstration, and we don't say it is going to be peaceful because the cops have declared war on the people of Harlem," he told the crowd, according to a later indictment. "Every time they kill one of us, damn it, we'll kill one of them."

But the violence was actually touched off by another street-corner



rally held that night by irresponsible CORE leaders and random rabble-rousers who chimed in. As the crowd milled around in front of a police precinct headquarters, its numbers swelled to hundreds. Within an hour, rocks, bottles and garbage were flying. The situation now needed no further communist help.

It is pointless to argue whether the Harlem rioting would have occurred without communist presence. Laying the blame for any riot *solely* upon communist instigation is as incorrect as dismissing *entirely* the influence of communism's "hidden persuaders." The lesson of Harlem is that the Red wreckers *can* move in on any controversy, and every thinking person must be aware of their methods and objectives.

**What Can Be Done?** The need for action is pressing. A few steps have already been taken. Last September, after the eruptions in U.S. cities, President Johnson ordered the FBI and the Army to provide increased anti-riot training for police and National Guard units. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, after bitter overseas experience with Red crowd agitators, prodded the Agency for International Development to start an "International Police Academy" in Washington, which today schools foreign policemen in on-the-spot handling of Red insurgency, terrorism and riots. U.S. labor and business leaders founded the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which, with U.S. government support, is training thou-

sands of Latin American trade unionists in 18 countries in democratic organization and anti-communist action.

But these steps are only a drop in the bucket. Urgently needed is recognition of the global problem at Washington's highest levels—and priority action. The White House must get behind the long-delayed Freedom Academy, which would teach both American and foreign private citizens how to counteract communist incendiarism with democratic reforms and organization. And private citizens everywhere must emulate the inspiring Brazilians who fought back on their own last spring. There, organizing their own anti-communist units, leaders learned of a Red-instigated "spontaneous" mass march to be made on the capital in Brasília, exposed the Red plan by press and radio, and forced its abandonment.\*

Free men can fight back in these four ways:

1. *Support wide public education about communist organizational methods and tactics of planned violence.* In the United States, the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism, 1155 E. 60 St., Chicago, Ill. 60637, is spearheading the drive for more public understanding of Red tactics. Many local bar groups, high-school faculties, Junior Chambers of Commerce and other civic groups are raising funds

\*See "The Country That Saved Itself," *The Reader's Digest*, November '64.

and otherwise aiding the ABA program.

2. *Seek advice from those who have had experience in the kind of political in-fighting required to expose and defeat the communist "hidden persuaders."* The communists devote "not their spare evenings but the whole of their lives," as Lenin commanded, to engineering social strife and violence. Amateurs who oppose them must learn fast. The following organizations offer information and assistance born of experience: American Institute for Free Labor Development, 1925 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006; National Strategy Information Center, 121 E. 71 St., New York, N.Y. 10021; Information Council of the Americas (INCA), 620 Gravier St., New Orleans, La. 70130.

3. *Wherever Red agents of violence set up party units or front groups, citizens must organize specific attack forces to wreck the wreckers before their organizations are deployed for action.* By keeping an ear to the ground and intelligence channels to official agencies open, citizens' groups can isolate the engineers of social demolition. In New Orleans, for example, when Lee Harvey Oswald, later assassin of President Kennedy, started organizing a chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, there to expose him was INCA, which produces anti-communist radio programs to counter mass demonstrations in Latin America. Edward Butler, INCA's

executive vice president, debated Oswald on a radio panel and, using officially documented data, forced him to admit his Marxist devotion and defection to Russia. Thus isolated, Oswald soon left town, demonstrating once more that exposure is democracy's most potent weapon against such hatemongers.

4. *Where prevention fails, citizens must overwhelmingly support civil authorities and police to maintain order.* In Harlem, after the first violence flared last summer, civil-rights leaders called together every non-communist organization in the community—69 of them—and formed the United Harlem Organizations. Working closely with police to expose and isolate the incendiaries, they distributed thousands of leaflets urging people to stay away from a communist-called rally. The rally fizzled. The UHO is now working hard to counteract the communist-promoted "police brutality" sloganeering, a decades-old communist stratagem diabolically designed to hamstring proper police action. Rights groups everywhere must expose it as energetically as they seek to prevent real instances of excessive force.

The lesson of the rising global tide of Red-led violence is one of the oldest lessons of history: eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Reprints of this article are available. Prices, postpaid to one address: 10—50¢; 50—\$2; 100—\$3.50; 500—\$12.50; 1000—\$18. Address Reprint Editor, The Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N.Y.

Feb.15, 1965

Mr. Eugene H. Methvin  
Reader's Digest Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Methvin,

I was very much impressed by your article "How the reds make a riot" in the January issue of the Reader's Digest. Eventhough I could not agree wholly with what you say, I do realize that the most effective way to fight Communism is using their own methods.

It is the future of my country Indonesia that compel me to write this letter. What is going to happen if President Sukarno is dead? I assume than the Communists will make a break to get in power. Who is going to stop them? Or will it be another Korea or Vietnam? I believe we, who still believe in freedom have to prevent Indonesia from falling into Communist hands.

Unfortunately, we do not know and do not have the means how to fight the Communists.

I have written to the American Institute For Free Labor Development, but that organization is for Latin America only.

Could you please tell me how can I join the Freedom Academy?

I am a \_\_\_\_\_ in this country and I want to return to my country not only with \_\_\_\_\_ knowledge, but also how to fight Communism.

This opinion of mine is shared by many of us who study in your country.

I thank you beforehand and God bless you.

Sincerely,



## THE READER'S DIGEST

PLEASANTVILLE • NEW YORK

Washington Editorial Office  
1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

April 7, 1965

Dear Mr.

Your letter of February 15 touched me deeply. I have delayed answering for so long because I have been groping for an adequate answer -- but there is none. You see, though the words come hard, I must tell you that my country, the so-called "Arsenal of Democracy" and leader of the free world, offers virtually nothing to a young man like you who wants and seeks training in how to defend his own country against communism and implant democracy. To nations that look to us for help in maintaining freedom and building a better life, we offer food and arms, machinery and medicine. But when it comes to the skills in political organization and conflict they will need to maintain free and democratic government in that struggle Adlai Stevenson calls "the world civil war," alas, we offer nothing at all.

No one can say what is going to happen to your country of Indonesia after President Sukarno dies. You are quite correct in assuming that the communists will make a break to get in power. In fact, the news in recent weeks indicates they are already moving rapidly to grab such a stranglehold that no one will be able to stop them. It grieves me to have to tell you that it may be too late to save Indonesia from communist takeover.

You ask about the Freedom Academy and how you can attend. It is a sad story! First, let me say that you are quite shrewd to recognize the importance of the political-ideological struggle even to a medical student such as you. You will not accomplish any net gain in the cause of humanity if, while you devote your time and medical skills to saving a few lives, the politicians so run things that periodic mass famine (as in Communist China) and civil violence (as in South Vietnam) sweep

away the lives of hundreds of thousands and heap misery upon millions. Politics, which is basically the art of human organization, is the master science -- and all who love mankind must study and practice it. "Man is by nature a political animal," said Aristotle. And it's no use doctoring his body if his politics are bad -- for he will die anyway. And who shall doctor the ills of the body politic? Where are the great academies that train professionals in this master science?

They are, ironically, all to be found in Russia or China or -- now -- Cuba. Those countries operate scores of institutes and schools teaching all the arts of "revolutionary warfare"; the organization of youth, students, farmers, women, professors, etc.; the infiltration of communications media, armed forces, police and government; the fomenting of strikes, mass demonstrations and bloody riots; and the ultimate seizure of power and totalitarianization of nations, with all the bloodshed and starvation that inevitably follow. (Cuba alone is turning out 1500 to 2500 trained revolutionaries a year from all over Latin America.) These schools have been running since 1921, when Lenin started the "University of the Workers of the East" for Asians such as you.

Indeed, your own country of Indonesia has sent untold hundreds to the Lenin School and its successor colleges of destruction. The Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) after its founding on May 23, 1920, very quickly established contact with representatives of the Soviet Union and its "Communist International" or Comintern. One of the founders, Semaun, visited the Comintern representative in Shanghai and was sent on to Moscow in 1922 for the "First Congress of the Workers of the East," one of Lenin's gimmicks to attract recruits he planned to use to implant Communist Parties throughout Asia. Semaun went back to Indonesia, was expelled in 1923 for leading a strike, and spent the next 20 years in Russia and Europe, attending Comintern congresses, training on the job in its international operation, and lecturing in its training schools. Alimin, another Red leader,

went to the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928 and stayed to study at the Lenin School with such future Red chieftains as Thorez of France, Browder and Gus Hall of the United States, Sharkey of Australia, Chou En-Lai of China, Pollitt of Great Britain, and Sanzo Nozaka of Japan. Darsono, run out of Indonesia by the Dutch in 1925 for strike fomentation, went to Moscow and spent the years 1929-30 at the Lenin School. No one knows how many other Indonesian communists went to this and other schools of revolution during these early years. But these years of schooling and revolutionary apprenticeship gave them the organizational and agitational know-how that enabled them after World War II to set up a revived Communist Party, with their own schools and organization, and make the PKI the largest Communist Party in the world outside the Sino-Soviet nations. And so the plight of Indonesia today is really in large measure the result of training operations that Lenin began in Moscow 44 years ago.

Fifteen years ago, after the communist takeover of China and at the time of the Korean War, a handful of Americans in Orlando, Florida, studied Lenin's works and the peculiar political education system he started and realized the nature of this global communist program for professionalizing social conflict. This was the beginning of the "Freedom Academy" proposal which I have described in the enclosed article from The Reader's Digest of May 1963.

It is sad to have to report to you that the Freedom Academy is still, at this late date in the 20th year of the cold war, no more than an idea. Bills to create such an institution have languished in Congress for the last five years. This year the prospect is bright that the House will pass it, for the House Committee on Un-American Activities has held several hearings and compiled impressive evidence of urgent need. But the situation in the Senate is less favorable. Hearings were held in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in May 1963, but the chairman, Senator Fulbright, did not seem persuaded of the need for the legislation, and since that time the situation in the Senate has been stagnant. If the House does

pass the bill, however, the chances are good that Senate sponsors will press for some kind of action, though I am afraid the State Department's wrongheaded and selfish opposition may prevent passage. Unfortunately, there are still too many idealists and optimists who have never accepted the realities about communism, even as Neville Chamberlain found it impossible to face up to the reality of Mr. Hitler until too late. This is a blindness which, I fear, will have to be paid for by the blood of many fine people like you and your countrymen in Indonesia, who are already in grave danger of takeover by the Red professionals; and by many young American soldiers who find themselves bogged down in wars like South Vietnam because our civilian and military officials in Washington do not know what to do to thwart the trained communist conflict managers before the shooting starts.

I do have faith in freedom, the democratic process and the ultimate rationality of man, and I think that before so very many more years pass by, the United States will have a Freedom Academy -- simply because the facts of life and Red imperialism are compelling ever wider recognition of the desperate need.

Because I have faith in freedom, the democratic process and the ultimate rationality of man, I think that before so very many more years pass by, the United States will have a Freedom Academy -- simply because the facts of life and Red imperialism are compelling ever wider recognition of the desperate necessity of it. Meanwhile, no institution in the entire United States offers training in the strategy, tactics and organizational know-how you and others like you need to contend against the Leninist professionals.

Ironically, there is one nation in the free world which is moving to fill this "training gap," and that is the Republic of Korea. Impressed by the Freedom Academy proposal in the U.S. Senate, a few years ago the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, a non-governmental association of Asian anti-communist organizations, decided to move ahead on its own and build a Freedom Center in Seoul, Korea. With backing from the Republic of Korea government and other governmental and non-governmental groups in Asia, that project is moving steadily forward,

despite great obstacles and a tragic apathy throughout Europe and the United States. Senator Thomas J. Dodd, a leading sponsor of the U.S. Freedom Academy bill, visited Seoul to speak at the Freedom Center on April 4, 1965, and I enclose a copy of his speech for your information. Perhaps you could get in touch with Senator Dodd's office upon his return and find out something about the training offered in the Seoul institution. Or perhaps the Korean Embassy in Washington could tell you something about it and how you might be admitted for study there.

To this very inadequate answer to your letter, let me add my own good wishes, and may God go with you and keep you safe.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene H. Mathvin

Enclosures



The CHAIRMAN. I have just received word that due to illness in the family, former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Mr. Farland, cannot be with us this morning.

So we will hear from him another day.

The hearing is recessed subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., Friday, May 7, 1965, the hearing was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)



**HEARINGS RELATING TO H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215,  
H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, AND H.R.  
6700, PROVIDING FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM  
COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY**

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**FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1965**

**UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.***

**PUBLIC HEARINGS**

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a.m., in Room 313A, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; and Del Clawson, of California.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Ichord, and Clawson.

Committee member also present: Representative Joe R. Pool, of Texas.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Our first witness this morning, my good friend and colleague, Congressman Boggs, and without saying any more, Hale, we are glad to have you once more before the committee to discuss the Freedom Academy proposals, of which your own bill is one.

We will be glad to hear from you, because I know you have to leave for other business in a few minutes.

**STATEMENT OF HON. HALE BOGGS, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM  
LOUISIANA**

Mr. Boggs. Mr. Chairman, I shall only take a minute or two. I filed a formal statement several weeks ago, but I am happy to be back before the committee and to again urge the favorable report on this bill.

(Mr. Boggs' statement of April 6, 1965, follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. HALE BOGGS, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM  
LOUISIANA

It is indeed a pleasure to testify once again before this committee on behalf of the enactment of an important proposal for strengthening our Nation in its worldwide commitments. My bill, H.R. 2379, and similar bills sponsored by my colleagues in the House, providing for the establishment of a Freedom Academy and a Freedom Commission, is a constructive piece of legislation for the benefit of our country and the free world.

As members of this committee know, this legislation enjoys a growing bipartisan support in both Houses of the Congress, and I am most hopeful we will have the opportunity to act on it in this session. It is my understanding that the outlook for House action in this session is better than ever before. I am confident this committee, chaired by my good friend and colleague, Ed Willis of Louisiana, will do everything possible to report this legislation so that the House can act on it.

Mr. Chairman, as all of you know, we have only to look at the Communist infiltration and subversion in South Vietnam today and in other countries in Southeast Asia (such as Malaya, Laos, Thailand) and in the developing nations of Africa and Latin America to realize the great effectiveness and the great danger which these nefarious activities are producing in many parts of the world.

The Communist-trained members of the guerrilla army, the Viet Cong, are continuing to infiltrate into South Vietnam from the north and to operate in a subversive manner, as well as to engage in open warfare with South Vietnamese and American troops. These Viet Cong guerrillas not only battle the South Vietnamese and American soldiers with bullets, but also they employ all manner of propaganda, nonmilitary, and subversive techniques to weaken the will of the people of South Vietnam to continue their fight against Communist aggression.

Both the Soviet Union and Communist China have well-trained agents deployed around the world, particularly in the new developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—there to ply various malevolent tactics of agitation, espionage, and subversion, designed to foment revolution and the overthrow of existing governments. The Red Chinese now are quite active in the new nations of Africa and in some of the countries in Latin America. With unceasing pressure, these Communist agents are driving to bring more peoples into their dictatorial orbit. They will stop at nothing to achieve their diabolical goals.

Therefore, it is most important that we in the United States, as the leader of the free world, take new and positive steps, through the full use of our citizens from both the public and private sectors of our society, to counter this Communist offensive around the globe. We can do so by training our own citizens and certain foreign nationals who are visiting our country to combat these Communist nonmilitary techniques with their own information and tactics.

But such skills in nonmilitary techniques cannot be attained through correspondence courses at home—they should be taught by knowledgeable and trained professionals at a special school.

I am confident that the best means to provide this specialized training is to enact this legislation to establish a Freedom Academy and a Freedom Commission as a separate arm of our National Government. That is why I am sponsoring this legislation, and why I offer my firm conviction on the need for its enactment.

The Freedom Academy would make use of some of our Nation's best talent and brains from both the public and private sectors of our society. Particularly, do we need to employ the services of our educated and dedicated private citizens in this continuing battle for men's minds. I know there is a great, untapped source of imagination, patriotism, and dedication among our private citizens, many of whom would gladly take this specialized training in nonmilitary techniques in order to do their part to maintain our freedom and that of other nations in the world. The fact is that we do not now have, even for the training of our Government personnel, an agency of our National Government to provide an extensive course in nonmilitary propaganda tactics. I am convinced we need such an agency in the form of a Freedom Academy.

The Communist base in Cuba has brought home to the people of the New Orleans area and of south Louisiana, as well as the country as a whole, the very real threat posed by the worldwide Communist conspiracy. If there ever was any doubt before Castro revealed his true colors as a Communist puppet that the

United States does need to train our citizens to meet the Red peril, then surely there can be no doubt now. Agents in Cuba are being trained to export their tactics of nonviolent or violent overthrow of other governments in Latin America. Thus far, their efforts have been foiled in Venezuela, Colombia, and Chile, but conditions are not fully stable in those countries even now. Thus we should not be lulled into any false security. As you now, the stability of some of the Latin nations is volatile, and our successes of today could be eclipsed tomorrow, unless we maintain a keen alertness throughout our hemisphere.

To emphasize this point, I would call attention to those members who may not have read it, a penetrating column in the *Washington Post* of March 31, 1965, by two of our Nation's most able and respected journalists—Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. In this column they write of Fidel Castro's attempts in recent months "to accelerate his export of Communist revolution."

They also note that the United States' strong stand in Vietnam has definitely hindered the effectiveness of Castro's program to export Communist revolutions to other nations in Latin America.

However, Evans and Novak go on to say that Castro's "new drive was launched at the hemispheric conference of Communist parties in Havana last November. With Moscow's concurrence, it was determined there to pick up the pace of terror and guerrilla warfare."

Their column continues:

"The result since January has been threefold: The beginning of new terrorist activities in Guatemala and Honduras; a step-up in chronic guerrilla action by Colombian Reds; and continuation of the long campaign of violence by Venezuela's Communists."

Evans and Novak point up the positive effects of the United States' stand in Vietnam and note that its weakening impact is very real on Castro's plans to foment Communist revolutions in the Western Hemisphere.

They assert "the strong U.S. stand in Vietnam \* \* \* hurts subversive communism throughout the hemisphere. It shows Latin America that an Uncle Sam willing to risk all in far-off Southeast Asia won't hesitate to intervene in the Guatemalan jungles or the Colombian hills if need be. This stiffens the spines of Latin American governments."

All of this emphasizes, to my mind, that our country should press any propaganda advantages in various parts of the world where we do have the upper hand and move into those places where we are today in a vulnerable position.

Because I think this column by Evans and Novak is pertinent to the committee's consideration of legislation to create a Freedom Academy and a Freedom Commission, I would like to include it at this point in the extensive record which I know the committee is compiling. The text of the column follows:

[*Washington Post*, March 31, 1965]

#### INSIDE REPORT

#### CASTRO AND VIETNAM

Speaking at the University of Havana in mid-March, Fidel Castro reached the climax of his harangue with these words:

"We are in favor of giving Vietnam all the help it needs. We want the help to be in the form of arms and *men*. We want the Socialist (Communist) camp to take whatever steps are necessary for the sake of Vietnam."

This was the signal for a trained claue to break out with sustained applause and a rhythmic collegelike cheer (in rough translation, "Let's hit the Yankees hard"). Despite these standard comic-opera trappings, the Castro performance was studied with more than the usual care by Cubanologists in Washington.

Their conclusion: Castro's program to subvert all Latin America, in the doldrums lately, has been slowed down still more by President Johnson's strong stand in Vietnam. The Castro bravado about sending troops there was a clue how deeply the hard U.S. line in the Far East is cutting into the Castro program.

Not generally known is the fact that in recent months Castro has sought to accelerate his export of Communist revolution. His new drive was launched at the hemispheric conference of Communist parties in

Havana last November. With Moscow's concurrence, it was determined there to pick up the pace of terror and guerrilla warfare.

The result since January has been threefold: The beginning of new terrorist activities in Guatemala and Honduras; a step-up in chronic guerrilla action by Colombian Reds; and continuation of the long campaign of violence by Venezuela's Communists.

The strong U.S. stand in Vietnam, coinciding with the new Castro campaign, hurts subversive communism throughout the hemisphere. It shows Latin America that an Uncle Sam willing to risk all in far-off Southeast Asia won't hesitate to intervene in the Guatemalan jungles or the Colombian hills if need be.

This stiffens the spines of Latin American governments.

It is only natural that Castro be ahead of the rest of the Communist world in asking that arms and men be sent to the Viet Cong guerrillas. Moreover, he may well send a token Cuban contingent. Looking ahead to a possible armed rising against his own forces, Castro needs to buttress the international principle of mutual security among Communists.

Even more important, Castro must maintain himself as an international figure to withdraw attention from his domestic failures.

It should be added quickly that Castro is in no imminent danger of being overthrown.

But Cuba today is a long way from a well-ordered Communist monolith. Telltale signs of turbulence crop up everywhere. Most recent were a new campaign to purge "bourgeois" elements from University student groups and the surprise appearance of Transportation Minister Faure Chaumon (an old rival of Castro's) with a mysterious gunshot wound.

Transcending all of this is Cuba's continuing economic stagnation. If all goes well during the next three years, Castro at best can hope to bring Cuba up to the miserable economic level he found when he seized power in 1959. That's running at top speed to remain in the same place.

If Castro is seen by his own people as a domestic failure rather than an international success, his doom may be brought just a little closer. That's why U.S. bombs dropped north of the 17th Parallel had fallout in Havana.

The active use of the ingenuity and talents of private citizens to join in the fight against Communist propaganda and subversion in the cold war has been admirably displayed for more than 4 years now by the Information Council of the Americas, based in my home city of New Orleans, La. Under the able direction of Mr. Edward S. Butler III, the executive vice president, this organization known as INCA is doing a splendid job of promoting the significance of freedom by way of countering Communist propaganda and subversion in 16 countries in Latin America. INCA dispatches on a regular basis radio "Truth Tapes" to some 136 different stations in these countries. These tapes feature Cuban refugees who relate their stories of escape from Castro's oppression and the debased condition of their country and their people under his Communist regime.

Recently, Juanita Castro, Fidel's sister, who defected from Cuba last summer, gave an exclusive radio statement on Castro's Red dictatorship to Ed Butler of INCA. Radio tapes of her call for freedom and for ousting communism from all of Latin America were sent to 21 stations in Chile for use just prior to the recent national election there. The results were fruitful: the Communist-backed candidate was defeated, and this was achieved particularly by the response of the Chilean women to Juanita Castro's warning. A substantial majority of their numbers voted against the Red-supported candidate.

A recent article in the January 1965 issue of *Reader's Digest* entitled "How the Reds Make a Riot," by Eugene H. Methvin of the *Digest's* Washington bureau, praises INCA and similar groups for their efforts against the Communist conspiracy.

This article brought a positive and widespread reaction from people in the United States and around the world. Particularly did students and teachers at colleges and universities in our Nation and in other countries respond and express a real interest in this work to defend freedom and to strengthen it against the Communist offensive.

Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to submit for the record a cross-section sampling of the hundreds of letters received from citizens in the United

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 161-168.

States and other nations who had read the *Digest* article. Six of these letters follow:

2319 BARTHOLOMEW STREET,  
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA,  
*January 18, 1965.*

INFORMATION COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS,  
620 Gravier Street,  
New Orleans 30, Louisiana.

DEAR SIRs: I have just read an article in the January issue of Reader's Digest which lists you as an organization offering information on how to fight communism.

I would like the following information: What can the individual citizen do? Is there any organization formed in Louisiana that citizens may join to do their share in fighting communism? What is the Federal Government doing? Has it formed a committee to alert the citizens of the United States against communism? Is the Valley Forge Freedom's Foundation organized for those who want to do something against international communism? If so, how can one join?

I have been interested in doing my part in fighting the Communists ever since we had an Americanism vs. Communism seminar in school last year. Now that I have graduated I am anxious to find out if there is any organization, club, or foundation which is helping to alert the American citizens against propaganda, demoralization, socialism, etc.

I would appreciate if you would answer this letter at your earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

/s/ Julia E. Dale,  
JULIA E. DALE.

FORT WORTH PUBLIC SCHOOLS,  
FORT WORTH, TEXAS,  
*January 6, 1965.*

INFORMATION COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS (INCA),  
620 Gravier Street,  
New Orleans, Louisiana, 70130

DEAR SIRs: I am a teacher of the sixth grade, and we have a unit in our social studies about the Soviet Union.

If you can furnish me with literature which would be helpful in showing the children the various aspects of this type of government, I shall be very grateful.

Your address was obtained from the January 1965 issue of the Reader's Digest.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely,

/s/ Elton W. Derden,  
ELTON W. DERDEN,  
Teacher, South Hills Elementary School,  
3009 Bilglade Road,  
Fort Worth 15, Texas.

447 GREEN OAKS EAST,  
Addison, Illinois, *January, 1965.*

INFORMATION COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS (INCA),  
620 Gravier Street,  
New Orleans, La. 70130

DEAR SIRs: In an issue of the Reader's Digest (January 1965) was an article on "How the Reds Make a Riot" in which your organization was referred to as a source of information. This and similar articles have inspired several of us and made us aware of the terrible threat to democracy that communism represents. We are now on a campaign to make ourselves and other teenagers more aware of this problem. With this in mind we are hoping you could send us as many copies of pamphlets, etc., possible on this subject. Also any suggestions on furthering our campaign would be appreciated.

Thank you.

/s/ Miss LINDA DIETZ.

WILLAMETTE UNIVERSITY,  
OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS,  
*Salem, Oregon, December 22, 1964.*

INFORMATION COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS,  
620 Gravier Street,  
New Orleans, Louisiana.

DEAR SIRs: In the article entitled "How the Reds Make a Riot" which appeared in the January 1965 issue of the Reader's Digest, your organization is noted as one offering information in this instance to people who are interested in understanding the problems discussed in the article.

I would be most grateful to you for sending anything that you feel would be of interest to a person serving as a dean of students at a university, with particular reference to the emphasis on incitation of student groups. I shall be glad to pay any charge there may be for material that you decide to send.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Walter S. Blake, Jr.,  
WALTER S. BLAKE, Jr.,  
*Dean of Students.*

SIR GEORGE WILLIAMS UNIVERSITY  
*Montreal, Que.*

RICHARD ANDERSON,  
3705 ST. JOSEPH BLVD.,  
*Montreal 36, Quebec.*

DEAR SIR: I have just finished reading an article in the Reader's Digest entitled "How the Reds Make a Riot." This article mentioned your association as being one of a few that gives out information on how people can oppose Communist backed riots, etc.

I would be grateful if you would send me some information. It is not to be used for anything other than to inform me since I don't represent any group.

Thanking you in advance, I remain

Yours truly,

/s/ RICHARD ANDERSON.

JANUARY 27, 1965.

DEAR SIRs: As I have students in my classes who mouth the Communist Party line (learned in part from some of my fellow teachers) I feel compelled to offer them constructive rebuttal. For this purpose I felt you might have literature and programs available that would help me reach this end. At any rate, I would like to hear what your group has to offer.

Cordially,

/s/ F. L. ALLARD, Jr.,  
*Instructor, Conversational English,  
Kobe University, Rokko, Kobe, Japan.*

In addition to the 136 stations in the 16 Latin American countries which use INCA's "Truth Tapes," there are also some 426 stations in the United States which are cooperating to engender interest and solicit support for this patriotic work. These American stations in 43 of the 50 States are helping to provide their audiences with an insight and understanding into political and social developments and events in Latin America in recent years.

In order to focus on the potential tragedy and the dangers inherent in the lack of alertness to crazed persons and Communist sympathizers in our midst, INCA has sold almost 8,000 copies of its recording of the apparent assassin of the late President Kennedy, Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald participated, along with Mr. Butler and other New Orleans citizens, in a general panel discussion on communism and democracy, broadcast over WDSU radio, New Orleans, just 3 months before the tragedy of November 22, 1963.

Mr. Butler, INCA's vice president; Bill Slatter, a WDSU reporter; Bill Stuckey, at the time a reporter for the *New Orleans States-Item*; Carlos Bringuier, a Cuban refugee from Castro's oppression; and Oswald, then in New Orleans to promote the so-called Fair Play for Cuba Committee, took part in this program.



On the program, Oswald showed himself to be an exponent, albeit not always an accurate one, of the Marxist line. Oswald's comments then, though sometimes contradictory and meandering, gave no real hint of the very violent bent which his twisted mind soon was to take.

The tape of this panel discussion was submitted to The President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, on which I had the sad duty and, at the same time, the high honor to serve. Mr. Butler and other participants on the panel cooperated fully with the Commission and gave us some very useful information.

The recording which INCA has sold throughout our country is entitled "Oswald: Self-Portrait in Red." I had the pleasure to introduce this recording, before the panel discussion opened. Dr. Alton Ochsner, of New Orleans, a world-famous surgeon from my city and the president of INCA, also is heard on this fine recording. So is Mr. Marshall Pearce, news director of WSMB radio, New Orleans, who serves as the moderator.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record "the full, unedited transcription of the panel discussion which took place on the evening of August 21, 1963, in the city of New Orleans . . ." The transcript follows:



# EYEWITNESS SCRIPT

THE INFORMATION COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS (INCA) • P.O. BOX 53371 • NEW ORLEANS, LA.

## Oswald Self-Portrait in Red

© Copyright The Information Council of the Americas (INCA) 1964

### SIDE 1

#### MARSHALL PEARCE:

The next voice you hear is that of the accused assassin of President John F. Kennedy, 24 year old Lee Harvey Oswald.

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD:

Yes, I am a Marxist.

#### MARSHALL PEARCE:

These words are typical of the dramatic debate which follows. Now to introduce the uncut, unedited transcription, is the Honorable Hale Boggs Congressman from New Orleans, House Majority Whip and a close legislative associate of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Congressman Boggs...

#### CONGRESSMAN BOGGS:

You are about to hear an historic recording. This recording was made in New Orleans last year. It is far more significant today in the light of subsequent events.

It is to the credit of the private citizens of New Orleans that it was they who first recognized the bizarre and incredible activities of Lee Harvey Oswald and brought him and his activities to the attention of the public. Credit is due to Radio Station WDSU and to newsmen Bill Slatter who moderated this program so alertly; to Latin American affairs reporter, Bill Stuckey, who sought out Oswald and arranged the interview, and to Cuban refugee leader, Carlos Bringuier who refuted his blatant pro-Castro propaganda.

And last, but certainly not least, to Ed. Butler, Executive Vice-President of INCA, the Information Council of the Americas, who developed much new material on Oswald's movements and activities, not only in New Orleans but elsewhere.

Let me say a word about the purposes of INCA the organization which Mr. Butler directs.

I have taken a very personal interest in INCA, as I said, a private organization which originated in my own Congressional District. On September 17, 1962, I said to my colleagues in the Congress that INCA is actively engaged in the defeat of the Communist movement through its TRUTH TAPE program - a program which provides scores of refugees from Communist tyranny the opportunity and the forum to relate their experiences on tape recordings for broadcast by radio stations throughout the Americas.

In this worthy counterattack, Mr. Butler has been joined by many highly respected private citizens, led by Dr. Alton Ochsner, president of The Information Council of the Americas, and an internationally famous surgeon from New Orleans.

I concluded my remarks with the statement that such a program as INCA's is a solid, forceful way to counteract Red propaganda, infiltration, and subversion.

Now the full, unedited transcription of the panel discussion which took place on the evening of August 21, 1963, in the city of New Orleans...

#### DRUM ROLL AND MUSIC INTRODUCTION -

#### ANNOUNCER:

WDSU Radio presents Conversation Carte Blanche next on cavalcade.

#### ANNOUNCER:

It's time now for Conversation Carte Blanche. Here is Bill Slatter ...

#### BILL SLATTER:

Good evening, for the next few minutes Bill Stuckey, and I, Bill whose program you've probably heard on Saturday night, "Latin Listening Post", Bill and I are going to be talking with three gentlemen, the subject mainly revolving around Cuba. Our guests tonight are Lee Harvey Oswald, who is Secretary of the New Orleans Chapter of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a New York headquartered organization which is generally recognized as the principal voice of the Castro government in this country. Our second guest is Ed Butler who is Executive Director of the Information Council of the Americas (INCA) which is headquartered in New Orleans and specializes in distributing anti-communist educational materials throughout Latin America, and our third guest is Carlos Bringuier, Cuban refugee and New Orleans Delegate of the Revolutionary Student Directorate, one of the more active of the anti-Castro refugee organizations. Bill, if at this time you will briefly background the situation as you know it ...

#### BILL STUCKEY:

Thank you Bill. First, for those who don't know too much about the background of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, this is an organization that specializes primarily in distributing literature, based in New York. For the several years in which it has been in existence it has operated principally out of the East and out of the West Coast and a few college campuses, recently, however, attempts have been made to organize a chapter here in New Orleans. The only member of the group who has revealed himself publicly so far is 23 year old Lee Harvey Oswald who is the Secretary of the local chapter of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He first came to public notice several days ago when he was arrested and convicted for disturbing the peace. The ruckus in which he was involved started when several local Cuban refugees including Carlos Bringuier, who is with us tonight, discovered him distributing pro-Castro literature on a downtown street. Now, Mr. Oswald and Bringuier are with us tonight to give us opposing view on The Fair Play for Cuba Committee and its objectives. I believe that I was probably the first New Orleans reporter to interview Mr. Oswald on his activities here since he first came into public view. Last Saturday in addition to having him on my show we had a very long and rambling question and answer session over various points of dogma and line of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee and now I'll give you a very brief digest of some of the principal propaganda lines I use the word propaganda, as rather I should say informational lines, of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

"OSWALD SELF- PORTRAIT IN RED"

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BILL STUCKEY, contd.

Number One - the principal thing is that they insist that Castro's government today is completely free and independent, and that it is in no way controlled by the Soviet Union. Another cardinal point of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee's propaganda is that Premier Castro is forced to seek aid from the Russians only because the United States government refused to offer him financial aid.

Following another line I asked Mr. Oswald if he had ever, or was, a member of the American Communist Party, and he said that the only organization to which he belonged was The Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Mr. Oswald also gave me this run down on his personal background: He said that he was a native of New Orleans, had attended Beauregard Junior High School and Warren Eastern High School. Had entered the U.S. Marine Corps in 1956 and was honorably discharged in 1959. He said during our previous interview that he had lived in Ft. Worth, Texas before coming here to establish a Fair Play for Cuba chapter several weeks ago. However, there were a few items apparently that I suspect that Mr. Oswald left out in this original interview which was principally where he lived after, between 1959 and 1962. We, er, Mr. Butler brought some newspaper clippings to my attention and I also found some too through an independent source, Washington newspaper clippings to the effect that Mr. Oswald had attempted to renounce his American citizenship in 1959 and become a Soviet citizen. There was another clipping dated 1962 saying that Mr. Oswald had returned from the Soviet Union with his wife and child after having lived there for three years. Mr. Oswald are these correct?

LEE HARVEY OSWALD:

That is correct. Correct, yes.

BILL STUCKEY:

You did live in Russia for three years?

LEE H. OSWALD:

That is correct, and I think those, the fact that I did live for a time in the Soviet Union gives me excellent qualifications to repudiate charges that Cuba and The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is communist controlled.

BILL SLATTER:

Mr. Bringuier perhaps you would like to dispute that point.

CARLOS BRINGUIER:

I'd like to know exactly the name of the organization that you represent here in the city, because I have some confusion, is Fair Play for Cuba Committee or Fair Play for Russia Committee?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well, that is very provocative request and I don't think requires an answer.

CARLOS BRINGUIER:

Well, I will tell you why because, before the communists take over Cuba, Cuba was at the

CARLOS BRINGUIER, contd.

head of the Latin American countries and I can show you that in Cuba in 1958 every 37 persons had an automobile and in Russia was 200 persons for 1 auto; in Cuba was 6 persons for 1 radio and in Russia was 20 persons for 1 radio; in Cuba was 1 television set for 18 persons and in Russia was 85 persons for 1 television set; and in Cuba was 1 telephone for every 38 persons and in Russia was 1 telephone for every 580 persons. Cuba was selling the sugar in the American market and was receiving from the U.S. more than one hundred million dollars a year over the price of the world market and the U.S. was paying to Cuba that price in dollars. Right now, Cuba is selling sugar to Russia. Russia is paying to Cuba 80% in junks, machinery, and 20% in dollars. I think that Cuba right now is a colony of Russia and the people of Cuba who is living in Cuba every day, who is escaping from Cuba every day, they disagree with you that you are representing the people of Cuba. Maybe you will represent the er, the colony of Russia here in this moment, but not the people of Cuba. You cannot take that responsibility.

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well ... in order to give a clear and concise and short answer to each of those, well, let's see, questions. I would say that the facts and figures from a country like Pakistan or Burma would even reflect more light upon Cuba in relation to how many TV sets and how many radios and all that, er, this, I don't think that is a subject to be discussed tonight, er, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee as the name implies is concerned primarily with Cuban-American relations.

BILL SLATTER:

How many people do you have in your Committee? here in New Orleans?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Er, I cannot reveal that as Secretary for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Is it a secret society?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Er, no, Mr. Butler, it is not. However it is standard operating procedure, er, for a political organization consisting of a er, political minority, er, to safeguard the names and number of its members.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Well, the Republicans are in the minority, I don't see them hiding their membership.

LEE H. OSWALD:

The Republicans are not a, well, er, the Republicans are an established political party, representing a great many people. They represent no radical point of view, they do not have a very violent and sometimes emotional opposition, as we do.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Oh, I see. Well, would you say then that

## "OSWALD. SELF- PORTRAIT IN RED"

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EDWARD S. BUTLER, contd.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is not a communist front organization?

LEE H. OSWALD:

The Senate Subcommittees who have occupied themselves with investigating the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, er, have found that there is nothing to connect the two committees. We have been investigated from several points of view, that is points of view of er, taxes, allegiance, subversion, and so forth. The findings er, have been as I say er, absolutely zero.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Well, I have a, the Senate Hearings before me and I think what I have in front of me refutes precisely every statement that you have just made. For instance, who is the Honorary Chairman of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Er, the Honorary Chairman of this Committee, er, the name of that person, er, I certainly don't know.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Well, let me tell you, in case you don't know about your own organization...

LEE H. OSWALD:

No, I know about it.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

His name is Waldo Frank and I'm quoting from the "New Masses" of September, 1932 in that, the title of his article, "How I Came to Communism - A Symposium" by Waldo Frank - "Where I Stand and How I got There" er, now let me ask you a second question, who is the Secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee? the National Secretary?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well, we have a National Director who is Mr. V. T. Lee who is recently returned from Cuba and because of the fact that the U.S. government has imposed restrictions on travel to Cuba he is now under indictment for his traveling to Cuba, er, this however, it is very convenient for rightist organizations to drag out this or that literature purporting to show a fact which has not been established in law. I have said that The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has definitely been investigated, that is very true, but I will also say that the total result of that, er, investigation was zero. That is, The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is not now on the Attorney General's Subversive List, any other material you may have is superfluous (sic)

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Oh, it is?

BILL SLATTER:

Mr. Oswald, if I may break in now a moment, I believe it was mentioned that you at one time asked to renounce your American citizenship and become a Soviet citizen, is that correct?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well, I don't think that has particular import to this discussion. We are discussing er, er, Cuban-American relations...

BILL SLATTER:

Well, I think it has a bearing to this extent Mr. Oswald, you say apparently that Cuba is not dominated by Russia and yet you apparently by your own past actions have shown that you have an affinity for Russia and perhaps communism, although I don't know that you admit that you either are a communist or have been, could you straighten out that point, are you, or have you been a communist?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well, I had answered that, er, prior to this program on another radio program...

BILL STUCKEY:

Are you a Marxist?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Yes, I am a Marxist.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

What's the difference?

LEE H. OSWALD:

The difference is primarily the difference between a country like Ghana (sic) Guinea, Yugoslavia, China or Russia. A very, very great differences. Differences which we, er, appreciate by giving aid let's say to Yugoslavia in the sum of a hundred million or so dollars a year.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

That's extraneous, what's the difference?

LEE H. OSWALD:

The, er, er, difference is as I said a very great difference, er, many parties, many countries are based on Marxism, er, many countries such as Great Britain display very socialistic er, aspects and characteristics I might point to the socialized medicine of Britain.

BILL SLATTER:

Gentlemen, I'll have to interrupt, we'll be back in a moment to continue this kind of lively discussion after this message.

MARSHALL PEARCE:

During the next two minutes the public heard a commercial message and the panelists saying little - shuffled their papers, preparing for the final round of the debate.

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MARSHALL PEARCE:

The only man in the listening audience who knew the full story of Oswald's defection beforehand was Dr. Alton Ochsner, the world famous New Orleans surgeon who is President of INCA. Dr. Ochsner, on a world tour as expert consultant to the Surgeon General of the Air Force, has himself confronted delegates from communist China. He has also seen and heard Red agitators and propagandists at work in Latin America. Here are his firsthand impressions of Lee Harvey Oswald. Dr. Ochsner...

DR. ALTON OCHSNER:

Thank You. Since I was familiar with Oswald's background, when I heard him smoothly admit his three year defection to Russia I was not overly surprised. But when he tried to use his admission as a proof that The Fair Play for Cuba Committee was not communist controlled, I knew that Ed Butler was facing the same kind of propaganda "doublethink" that I had heard so many communists and their sympathizers use in my travels all over the world.

However, as the interview went on and the hardhitting questions and factual evidence piled up, I relaxed. Oswald had obviously met his match.

It is important to remember that at that time, Oswald had technically committed no crime. Therefore, no official could prevent him from spreading poison on the airwaves.

Nor would any of us, who believe in the freedom of speech, want a Thought Control Agency to assume such powers. Private citizens must meet the distortion with truth. On the other hand, a professional approach, with indisputable facts and a planned strategy, is needed if private citizens are to provide the antidote for propaganda poison.

Because the full facilities of INCA were available - for a change the propaganda battle was fought evenly.

The results speak for themselves. Oswald dropped out of sight immediately after the debate, and left New Orleans shortly thereafter. According to published reports he went to Mexico where he visited the Communist embassies of Russia and Cuba. Then he took up residence in an apartment in a Dallas suburb under the alias O. H. Lee, where several letters from the same man written on the stationery of both the Communist Party U.S.A. and The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, were reportedly found.

Many who have heard this record have expressed the belief that if an INCA branch office had existed in Dallas, Oswald would again have been exposed, and the President

DR. ALTON OCHSNER, contd.

might be alive today. No one can say for certain. But as you listen to the second part of this record, think about it, and decide for yourself.

## SIDE 2

MARSHALL PEARCE:

This is the second segment of the "Conversation Carte Blanche" interview, with Lee Harvey Oswald on radio station WDSU, in New Orleans, exactly as it was broadcast a few weeks before President Kennedy's assassination....

BOOTH ANNOUNCER:

And now back to Conversation Carte Blanche. Here again Bill Slatter.

BILL SLATTER:

Tonight Bill Stuckey and I are talking with three guests Lee Harvey Oswald, who is local secretary of a group called Fair Play for Cuba, and with Ed Butler, the Executive Vice President of the Information Council of the Americas (INCA), and Carlos Bringuier, a Cuban refugee and obviously anti-Castro. Mr Oswald as you might have imagined is on the hot seat tonight and I believe you, Bill Stuckey have a question.

BILL STUCKEY:

Mr. Oswald I believe you said in reply to a question from Mr. Butler that any questions about your background were extraneous to discussion tonight. I disagree because of the fact that you refuse to reveal any of the other members of your organization so you are the face of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans. Therefore, anybody who might be interested in this organization ought to know more about you. For this reason I'm curious to know just how you supported yourself during the three years that you lived in the Soviet Union. Did you have a government subsidy?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Er, well, as I er, well, I will answer that question directly then, since you will not rest until you get your answer, er, I worked in Russia, er, I was, er under the protection er, that is to say, I was not

## "OSWALD SELF- PORTRAIT IN RED"

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LEE H. OSWALD, contd.

under the protection of the American government, but that I was at all times, er, considered an American citizen. I did not lose my American citizenship.

BILL SLATTER:

Did you say that you wanted to at one point though? What happened?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well, it's a long drawn out situation, er, with permission to live in the Soviet Union granted to a foreign resident is rarely given, er, this calls for a certain amount of technicality, technical papers and so forth, er, at no time as I say was I er, did I renounce my citizenship or at no time was I out of contact with the American Embassy.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Excuse me, may I interrupt just one second. Either one of these two statements is wrong The Washington Evening Star of Oct. 31, 1959 page 1, reported that Lee Harvey Oswald, a former Marine, of 4936 Collingwood St., Ft. Worth, Texas, had turned in his passport at the American Embassy in Moscow on that same date and it said that he had applied for Soviet citizenship. Now, it seems to me that you've renounced your American citizenship if you've turned in your passport.

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well, the very obvious answer to that is that I am back in the United States. A person who renounces his citizenship becomes disqualified for returning to the U.S.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Right, and Soviet authorities - this is from the Washington Post & Times Herald of November 16, 1959 - Soviet authorities have refused to grant it although they had informed him he could live in Russia as a Resident Alien. What did you do in the 2 weeks from Oct. 31st to Nov. 16th, 1959?

LEE H. OSWALD:

As I have already stated, of course this whole conversation and we don't have too much time left, is getting away from the Cuban-American problem, however, I am quite willing to discuss myself for the remainder of this program, as I stated it is very difficult for a resident, for a foreigner to get permission to reside in the Soviet Union. During those two weeks and during the dates you mentioned I was, of course, er, with the knowledge of the American Embassy getting this permission.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Were you ever at a building at 11 Kuznyetskaya Street in Moscow?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Kuznyetskaya? Kuznyetskaya is the er, well that would be, well, that would probably be

LEE H. OSWALD: contd,

the Foreign Ministry, I presume, er, no, I was never in that, place, although I know Moscow having lived there.

BILL SLATTER:

Excuse me. Let me interrupt here. I think Mr. Oswald is right to this extent, we should get around to the organization which he is the head of in New Orleans, the Fair Play for Cuba.

LEE H. OSWALD:

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

BILL SLATTER:

As a practical matter Mr. Oswald, knowing as I'm sure you do the sentiment in America against Cuba, we, of course, severed diplomatic relations sometime ago, I would say that Castro is as about as unpopular as any body in the world in this country. As a practical matter, what do you hope to gain for your work? How do you hope to bring about what you call "Fair Play for Cuba"? Knowing that sentiment?

LEE H. OSWALD:

The principals of The Fair Play for Cuba consist of restoration of diplomatic trade and tourist relations with Cuba, that is one of our main points, er, we are for that, I disagree that this situation regarding American-Cuban relations is very unpopular, we are in a minority surely, er, we are not particularly interested in what Cuban exiles or rightists er, er, members of rightist organizations have to say, we are primarily interested in the attitude of the U. S. government toward Cuba. And in that way we are striving to get the United States to adopt measures which would be more friendly toward the Cuban people and the new Cuban regime in that country. We are not at all communist controlled, regardless of the fact that I have the experience of living in Russia, regardless of the fact that we have been investigated, er, regardless of any of those facts, er, The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is an independent organization not affiliated with any other organization, our aims and our ideals are very clear, and in the best keeping with American traditions of democracy.

CARLOS BRINGUIER:

Do you agree with Fidel Castro when in his last speech of July 26th of this year he qualify President John Fitzgerald Kennedy of the United States as a ruffian and a thief? Do you agree with Mr. Castro?

LEE H. OSWALD:

I would not agree with that, er particular wording. However, I and the er, Fair Play for Cuba Committee does think that the United States government through certain agencies, mainly the State Department and the C.I.A. have made monumental mistakes in

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LEE H. OSWALD: contd.  
its relations with Cuba. Mistakes which are pushing Cuba into the sphere of activities of let's say a very dogmatic country such as China is.

BILL SLATTER:

Mr. Oswald, would you agree that when Castro first took power, er, would you agree that the United States was very friendly with Castro, that the people of this country had nothing but admiration for him, that, er, that they were very glad to see Batista thrown out?

LEE H. OSWALD:

I would say that the activities of the United States government in regards to Batista were a manifestation of, not so much support for Fidel Castro, but rather a withdrawal of support from Batista, in other words, we stopped arms to Batista, what we should have done was to take those armaments, and drop them into the Sierra Maestra where Fidel Castro could have used them, as for public sentiment at that time, I think even at that even before the revolution there were rumblings of official comment and so forth from government officials, er, against Fidel Castro.

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

You've never been to Cuba, of course, but why are the people in Cuba starving today?

LEE H. OSWALD:

Well, in any country, er, emerging from a semi-colonial state and embarking upon reforms which require a diversification of agriculture, er, you are going to have shortages, after all 80% of imports into the United States, er, from Cuba were two products, er, tobacco and sugar. Nowadays, er, while the er, Cuba is er, reducing its product as far as sugar cane goes it is striving to grow unlimited and unheard of for Cuba, quantities of certain vegetables; sweet potatoes, lima beans, cotton and so forth, so that they can become agriculturally independent ...

BILL SLATTER:

Gentlemen, I'm going to have to interrupt, our time is almost up. We've had three guests tonight on Conversation Carte Blanche: Bill Stuckey and I have been talking to Lee Harvey Oswald, Secretary of the New Orleans Chapter of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Ed Butler, Executive Director of The Information Council of the Americas (INCA), and Carlos Bringuier, Cuban refugee. Thank you very much and good evening.

DRUMS

MARSHALL PEARCE:

The end of the interview foreshadowed a tragic series of events climaxed by the

MARSHALL PEARCE:

assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963, and the subsequent murder of Lee Harvey Oswald before a television audience of millions.

Now for an impression in depth of Oswald, we turn to one of the panelists on that fateful evening - Edward Butler, Executive Vice-President of INCA. Mr. Butler a specialist in communist propaganda activities and how to overcome them, has interviewed scores of refugees from communist takeovers during the past several years. In 1960 he conceived, and now manages INCA, and its TRUTH TAPES program. TRUTH TAPES are half-hour and fifteen minute tape recordings featuring eyewitness refugee testimony about communist takeover tactics, sent to a network of over 120 local radio stations in 16 nations of Latin America.

The author of several articles on this vital subject, Mr. Butler has appeared as a witness before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements to outline ways to win the war of words and avoid nuclear conflict. He was the only known propaganda specialist ever to confront Oswald. Mr. Butler ...

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

While sketching the portrait of Oswald for the jacket of this record, I sorted through a mental inventory of scores of memories of Oswald, his expressions, statements, reactions, and gestures.

Although our only confrontation was the evening of the debate, I knew a good deal about Oswald before the encounter. I had listened for hours to a long, tape-recorded interview with Oswald by Bill Stuckey; I had questioned Bringuier and other refugees who knew him; I had read the anti-American, pro-Castro propaganda Oswald was distributing on behalf of The Fair Play for Cuba Committee and of course, I had data about his defection to Russia.

We finally met in the reception room at the WDSU studio; Bringuier introduced us. Oswald seemed outwardly self-confident, but his hand was clammy when I shook it.

I sat down opposite him, about three feet away.

Stuckey came in, and after a somewhat stiff 'hello' all around, he and I began to chat, while Oswald and Bringuier began to argue.

When Oswald spoke, he sounded like a man with a piano roll in his head, grinding out the same tired Red propaganda tunes that I have heard so often in my work.

## "OSWALD SELF- PORTRAIT IN RED"

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EDWARD S. BUTLER, contd.

It was then that I happened to mention to Stuckey that a certain local businessman was "progressive" in his advertising policies.

On the first syllable of the word 'progressive', Oswald abruptly broke off his discussion with Bringuier and looked at me, slightly startled. But by the time I had finished the sentence, Oswald realized that I was applying the term 'progressive' to capitalism, and his glance changed into a smirk of utter disgust.

To those of us who have to delve into the murky jargon of Marxism-Leninism, Oswald's reaction was no surprise. In the Red catechism, the term 'progressive' always indicated the 'proletarian' forces led by the Party; to apply it to capitalism is blasphemy.

I will never forget Oswald's look of loathing. I was to see it several times more during the evening, since everyone noticed that he was particularly antagonistic towards me. I tried to capture that black look on the jacket sketch. It had to be a look of impersonal hatred, since Oswald knew nothing about me, or the organization which I represented. But more about that in a moment.

I listened closely as Oswald and Bringuier resumed their dispute, and was impressed by Oswald's technical competence as a propagandist. Let me illustrate with a few examples from the debate you've just heard.

Subject paralleling is a standard propaganda technique. On defense, the propagandist uses it to turn an attack backward upon his opponent.

Oswald's attempt to use his visit to Russia as a proof that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is not communist controlled, is an example of defense paralleling.

On defense, paralleling is used to link and smear by implication. Oswald did this three times when he labeled me a 'rightist' and INCA a 'rightist organization'. As a matter of fact he didn't even know the name of my organization when he pulled the parallels, because he asked for that information and wrote it down in a notebook, when the debate was over.

For the record, INCA's membership and Board includes Liberals and Conservatives, Democrats and Republicans, scattered all over the nation, all bound in their opposition to communist tyranny by a single common ideal - Liberty Under Law.

Oswald knew many other tricks of the trade target narrowing and subject expansion, slogan building, theme repetition and so on.

Here are some examples from the debate:

You heard Oswald twice try to narrow his

EDWARD S. BUTLER, contd.

target - a propaganda technique used defensively to avoid dangerous or embarrassing side-issues, offensively to sharpen the point of an attack - when he said:

LEE H. OSWALD:

"...This...I don't think this is a subject to be discussed tonight...The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, as the name implies, is concerned primarily with Cuban-American relations!"

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

And again when he said...

LEE H. OSWALD:

"I don't think that has particular import to this discussion. We are discussing Cuban-American relations."

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

And, finally when he dismissed the investigative resources of the Congress of the United States with the statement:

LEE H. OSWALD:

"...The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is not now on the Attorney General's Subversive List. Any other material you may have is superfluous."(sic)

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Thus Oswald was trying to narrow my range to courtroom evidence, while presumably reserving the broad field of opinion unto himself.

Which brings up another interesting point:

Oswald also knew how to expand his subject a method used, defensively, to blur and confuse the issues so that there is nothing but haze to attack. On offense, expansion is used to make blanket comparisons or charges covering many individuals, groups or nations.

You heard Oswald defensively expanding in answer to my embarrassing question about the difference between Marxism and Communism. In just a few sentences he spanned the globe from Africa to Europe, then tried to bring in American Foreign Aid and alliance policies to prove his point.

LEE H. OSWALD:

"The difference is primarily the difference between a country like Ghana, Guiana (sic), Yugoslavia, China or Russia. A very, very great differences. Differences which we, er, appreciate by giving aid let's say to Yugoslavia in the sum of a hundred million or so dollars a year."

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

I was narrowing on the attack when I refused to be confused and interrupted him with "That's extraneous, what's the difference?"

LEE H. OSWALD:

"The, er, difference is as I said a very great difference, er, many parties, many countries are based on Marxism, er, many countries such



"OSWALD SELF- PORTRAIT IN RED"

LEE H. OSWALD:

as Great Britain display very socialistic, er, aspects and characteristics. I might point to the socialized medicine of Britain."

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

Oswald also used the familiar Big Lie technique, made famous by Goebbels, but originated by Lenin and perfected by his successors when he said:

LEE H. OSWALD:

"The Senate Subcommittees who have occupied themselves with investigating the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, have found that there is nothing to connect the two committees."

EDWARD S. BUTLER:

To anyone who has read the detailed Congressional Hearings on The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Oswald's distortion is obvious, and I urge every American to get these revealing documents and decide for yourself.

I suppose many mature Americans find it hard to take seriously the Marxist theory of a world split into two warring classes, never changing except by revolution, never progressing except by hatred and conflict - but Oswald took it religiously.

Similarly, many Americans can't conceive of anyone idolizing a brutal dictator like Castro, who has left a trail of blood, falsehood, and misery ever since he participated in his first political assassination, in Bogota, in 1948 - but Oswald certainly idolized him.

What mystifies Americans most is how an American boy, could come to accept such a philosophy, and to worship such a man. Oswald himself gave us a vital clue when he said he was introduced to communism by a pamphlet sympathetic to the Rosenberg Atom Spies. Later, reading Marx's "Das Capital" he said he felt, "...like a religious man opening the Bible for the first time." The answer, of course, is that communist propaganda, in gradual doses, conditions the immature mind to glorify violence.

It teaches impersonal hatred of whole classes of humanity. Many communist books, pamphlets, broadcasts or films are an open invitation to revolutionary terrorism.

President Kennedy's death has proved that words - which can be shot around the world faster than any missile - words are the ultimate weapon. What makes these new word weapons so powerful is that they can reach into the midst of any country, manipulate its own people, and invisibly motivate the minds of men who have the power to press buttons and pull triggers. As a professional who handles word weapons every day, in my opinion the most frightening statement known to man is the bland phrase, "It's just propaganda!"

EDWARD S. BUTLER, contd.

Propaganda made Oswald the man he was. Communist propaganda inflamed the mind of the man, who - evidence indicates - pulled the trigger, to fire the bullet, that killed the President of the United States.

For instance, I have in my hand a cartoon from an official Cuban publication called "Verde Olivo" showing President Kennedy wearing a Nazi Swastika armband, and giving directions to a Cuban Refugee leader pictured as a worm.

We know, because Oswald admitted it openly, because he recited communist doctrine like scripture, and because people saw him in the act, that he had been steadily absorbing this mental poison for years.

Until we counteract the vast bulk of hate propaganda which pours forth both from official communist publications and their echoes here at home like The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, no elected official, no free institution, no private citizen's life, liberty or property will be safe.

But the situation is far from hopeless.

Communism can attract only the thinnest minority anywhere. For every embittered Oswald in America, or Castro in Cuba, there are thousands of young men all over the world who can be trained to meet, compete with, and defeat them on the mass media battleground.

What is needed are professionals -- or more accurately a practical means of subsidizing the efforts of private propaganda professionals for freedom. I emphasize the word 'private' because every Red revolutionary from Lenin, to Castro, to Oswald, has worked as a private citizen until after a successful revolution. Here at the private level, using words as weapons, is where most major battles will be won or lost.

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PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY:

"And so my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

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NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

One of the principal values in such a recording lies in the fact that it serves as a vivid reminder to the American people and our National Government that there is a pressing need to provide greater protection for the President and Vice President and to maintain a more extensive alertness to the dangers from suspicious persons in our country. On this score, as well as many others, Mr. Butler, Dr. Ochsner, the other officers and board members of INCA, have rendered great service to our country.

Members of INCA today include businessmen, professional men, educators, farm leaders, journalists, and others living in 21 States of our Nation. They are providing solid support to INCA's "Truth Tapes" and its other efforts to counter communism in our hemisphere. Leading representatives of both the governmental and the private sectors of our society are included. This is certainly true in my community of New Orleans and the surrounding area.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to pay tribute to the late deLesseps S. (Chep) Morrison, long-time mayor of New Orleans and former United States Ambassador to the Organization of American States, for his diligent efforts to assist Mr. Butler and INCA in its work. Chep Morrison, in his 15½ years as mayor of New Orleans and his 2 years as OAS Ambassador, did a splendid job, through his contacts, his good will, and his knowledge, to help bring the peoples of all the Americas closer together and to solidify their governments against communism. I am proud to have been an admirer and a close friend of Chep Morrison, whose life was cut off too soon. I am pleased to salute him for his contributions to the cause of which we are concerned today.

I know that Mr. Butler and his staff and the supporters of INCA are doing a fine job, but such organizations, with their somewhat limited resources, cannot do this work alone. INCA and similar organizations, dedicated to strengthening and expanding freedom in our country and around the world, could use the assistance and direction of the National Government and the Congress to provide an extensive anti-Communist training program. Such a program should receive the full support of the Congress and the executive branch of our Government. It would in no way conflict with the great efforts in this field by the United States Information Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the State Department and others, but rather the Freedom Academy and the Freedom Commission would augment them, particularly by utilizing the vast resources and talents of our private citizens.

Therefore, I say, Mr. Chairman, that now is the time to act and to act positively. A year ago, before this committee, I spoke on behalf of this legislation. I cited the immortal words of the late President Kennedy in his historic inaugural address:

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country.

The Freedom Academy will give Americans in many walks of life the opportunity to answer our late President's summons to service—to join in strengthening our country and its freedom. No one doubts the ultimate goals of the Soviet and Chinese Communists. We must use all of our human resources in order to counter effectively the Communist offensive and to refurbish democratic societies wherever we can.

I would conclude, Mr. Chairman, by saying that the Freedom Academy will offer our Nation the best and most imaginative means to utilize the brains and talents of our people in a total effort against the Communist offensive and to foster the ideals and the principles of freedom upon which this great country of ours was founded.

Mr. Boggs. There are many reasons for this bill. More recently, we have seen additional reasons. The evidence which has been documented now about events in the Dominican Republic shows that there was a real subversive movement there; that it originated in Cuba, by and large, those people associated with the Cuban enterprises; and as this committee knows, there are similar activities elsewhere in this hemisphere—particularly in the countries in Latin America, where there is lack of stability in the governments.

(At this point Mr. Clawson entered the hearing room.)

Mr. Boggs. Last week, I had an interview with the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American Affairs, also in charge of our relations at the Alliance for Progress, and he said that they

estimated that Cuba was spending almost a billion dollars a year on activities having to do with the teaching of terror, subversion, the overthrow of democratic governments, and so on.

Now, everybody knows that these funds are not coming from Cuba. Cuba is in a desperate economic plight. They are being supplied by the Communist organizations throughout the world, China, Soviet Russia, the satellite countries.

The notion that this is not a threat to us is just not so. As I said, the Dominican Republic is the best example that I can think of.

Now, we pride ourselves in the United States in being the most information-conscious nation on earth. We probably have more pages of news, more words of radio, and more pictures on television dealing with news, than any other country on earth; and yet somehow or another, we fail in the propaganda field, even in our own country.

The President, right at the moment, is terribly concerned about events on some of our college campuses with respect to developments in Southeast Asia. On the other side of the spectrum, this committee has taken note of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, so that we have, in many ways, failed to tell the story of this, the greatest, the freest nation that mankind has ever known.

We have the people to do it in our institutions, both in and out of Government.

I think that this idea of mobilizing the intellectual resources of our country for an offensive to tell the story of America and what it means is something that just should be done.

Now, from all that I can ascertain in Southeast Asia, for instance, we have established a real rapport with the people of Southeast Asia, and yet there has been the worst type of terrorism on the part of the Viet Cong, and yet the Vice President of the United States was confronted yesterday with questions indicating that we—the United States is guilty of atrocities in Southeast Asia.

So it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that there is a vast need for this. I don't believe that we can do all of this through Government enterprise. It may very well be that USIA is not being adequately financed. I don't know. But even if those appropriations were doubled or tripled, we still should utilize these vast potential resources in the universities and elsewhere that we are not utilizing.

We have had a group operating in my hometown in New Orleans called INCA, which has done quite a remarkable job, using existing radio stations and making tapes, movies for reproduction, answering propaganda lines, whether they come from the extreme left or the extreme right, on the scene, not letting this propaganda just prevail. And I am convinced that this group has had a very profound impact in Latin America.

All of us know the impact that Radio Free Europe has had in Eastern Europe, so that the need for this, I think, has been very well established, and I believe that if this committee reported this bill, that the House would pass it, and I think the Senate would pass it, and I hope that that is done relatively soon.

I ask unanimous consent to incorporate this statement in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be done at this point.

(The formal statement submitted by Congressman Boggs follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. HALE BOGGS, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM  
LOUISIANA

Mr. Chairman, I am happy to be with you and the members of this distinguished committee for a few minutes today to talk with you about what I consider to be an important piece of legislation. The establishment of a proper training academy—as envisaged in this legislation—would alert our own citizens in a concrete way to the nefarious tactics of the agents of the international Communist conspiracy. Such an academy would equip them in a firmer, more extensive manner to counter the paramilitary and propaganda techniques of the Communist orbit and, at the same time, provide constructive tactics to foster our own democratic principles.

The formation of this special academy—A Freedom Academy—would be a fine way to help achieve these goals—that is, by bringing together, both as teachers and students, the best minds of our country from both the public and the private sectors of our society.

We have only to look at the Communist attempt to subvert and take over the Dominican Republic to realize just how serious in our own hemisphere is this menace to all the established governments. All types of agitation, espionage, subversion, and other paramilitary and propaganda techniques are utilized to achieve the success of any Communist revolt.

In a recent discussion I had with Mr. Jack Vaughn, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and our U.S. coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, Mr. Vaughn cited an almost unbelievable sum of money which I had not heard before. He told me that the international Communist conspiracy, through Cuba and Castro's regime, is now spending between \$600 million and \$800 million a year to maintain the Cuban Government and to train Communist agents and to export revolution throughout Latin America. This is truly a frightening sum, particularly when we know what it is being used for. As Mr. Vaughn pointed out, this financial output equals the approximate total funds which our country provides for Latin America annually through the Alliance for Progress program and related social assistance programs.

If there was any shred of doubt about the Communists' intentions in our hemisphere, it was obliterated last November in Havana when the Castro regime signed a charter, in which its leaders agreed to do everything in their power to subvert the existing governments in Latin America, to foment their so-called wars of national liberation, and to seize control of all the other governments in the Western Hemisphere. Mr. Vaughn stated that our Government knows that Castro and his agents have a priority list of Latin nations for future subversion and overthrow and that we are aware of which countries are at the top of the list.

The Communists obviously are doing an extensive job of propaganda and subversion in Latin America. In Cuba, there is a real and total slave economy—and yet the Castro regime seems to be able to train agents and to export propaganda and revolution. This Communist regime seems to enjoy some success in convincing the poor people of Latin America that Castro and his government are helping the ordinary man, the workingman, to achieve a better life.

I asked Mr. Vaughn why the United States apparently has been less successful than we should be in fostering information on our own Government, our principles, and our way of life in a free society, and the virtues and accomplishments of our Alliance for Progress program.

Among other things, he said that in his opinion one of the reasons for this is that our country does not provide enough money to the United States Information Agency so that it can do the most effective job in this area. He said that the USIA has been allotted less money over the years than have similar agencies of our Government. Mr. Vaughn noted that more funds were needed for this important Agency, and I agree with this.

As I stated in my earlier prepared remarks for your committee, the Freedom Academy in no way would circumvent, or compete with, the USIA, the CIA, the National Security Agency, the State Department, or other similar agencies of our Government. On the contrary, the Freedom Academy—by utilizing the best brains not only from the public governmental sector of our society, but also from the private sector, would augment and supplement in a fine manner the good work which these other agencies are continually doing for our country.

The skills which could be provided to our citizens in such an academy must be

taught by knowledgeable and trained professionals. Such skills and knowledge can best be offered in a special school, as envisaged in this legislation.

I know that there is a great, untapped source of imagination, patriotism, and dedication from among our private citizens, many of whom would gladly take this specialized training in nonmilitary and propaganda techniques in order to do their part to maintain our freedom and that of the other nations of the world. The fact is that we do not now have, even for the special training of our Government personnel, an agency of our National Government assigned to the task of providing an extensive course in nonmilitary and propaganda tactics. The Freedom Academy, directed by a high-level Freedom Commission, would give our country and its citizens the right kind of specialized school for this purpose.

In my own city of New Orleans, Louisiana, there is in active operation, a private citizens' organization, the Information Council of the Americas, directed by Mr. Edward S. Butler III, as executive vice president, and Dr. Alton Ochsner, an internationally famous surgeon from my city, as president. This organization, known as INCA, is performing an outstanding service to the people of Latin America, as well as to our own country, by fostering the significance of freedom and countering Communist propaganda and subversion. INCA is achieving this by sending to some 136 radio stations in 16 different Latin nations "Truth Tapes"—which feature the voices of Cuban refugees relating their own stories of oppression and terror, of poverty and the generally debased condition of their country, under Castro's Communist regime.

In the United States, there are also some 426 radio stations which are cooperating with INCA to promote interest and to solicit support for this patriotic work. These radio stations in 43 of our 50 States also are broadcasting some of these "Truth Tapes," thus giving their audiences an insight and an understanding into political and social developments in Latin America and the Communist activities to subvert and overthrow the governments of our good neighbors to the south.

In INCA's membership today are businessmen, professional men, educators, farm leaders, journalists, and others living in 21 different States of our Union. They are giving their support to INCA and its important work—they are private citizens who are assisting in fighting communism in our hemisphere. This fine organization is just one example, a very sound example, of what a group of private citizens can do to assist our National Government and our people in combating communism. But INCA and similar organizations cannot do this work alone, because the task is too big for a select group of our citizens. It requires a total commitment by our Government and a majority of its citizens to counter the spread of communism around the world. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that the establishment of this specialized Freedom Academy would be a concrete way in which to engender a greater response to this total commitment.

Therefore, I am pleased to join with many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and in both Houses in sponsoring this legislation. It is enjoying increasing bipartisan support in both Houses of the Congress. As the committee knows, the Senate passed a similar bill in the 2d session of the 86th Congress, but the House did not have the opportunity to act upon it then. I am most hopeful that the 89th Congress will have this opportunity and that the House will pass this legislation to strengthen our country and the principles for which it stands.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, for permitting me to speak to you today.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Congressman Boggs, I wish to say this. The May 1, 1965, issue of *New Times* was brought to my attention just the other day. This is a Soviet weekly journal of world affairs which is published not only in Russian, but six other languages—English, French, German, Spanish, Polish, and Czech. This propaganda magazine is put out by *Trud*, the U.S.S.R. so-called labor newspaper, published by the All-Union Central Soviet of Professional Unions in Moscow.

On page 23 of the May 1 issue, which is the beginning of the section on "International Notes," there is a subhead "U.S.A." and under that another subhead "Academy of the Science of Subversion."

The item opens with mention of the fact that Senator Mundt had recently made a long speech in the Senate on the Freedom Academy and states that a bill providing for its establishment has already been submitted to the Congress.

Actually, of course, eight bills to establish a Freedom Academy—and you are the author of one of them—have been introduced in the House and one in the Senate, with 12 sponsors.<sup>1</sup> Senator Mundt has long been a sponsor of the Freedom Academy concept and testified before this committee on the bills now pending before it just a few weeks ago, on April 1.

The article then goes on to claim that, in speaking about the Freedom Academy in March of last year, you, Mr. Boggs, declared that the prototype of its activity should be “the work done by our security agencies, the FBI particularly on the domestic scene, the CIA elsewhere in the world.”

“In short,” the article continues—

it was a question of setting up an institution in which American diplomats, correspondents, businessmen, tourists and sportsmen going abroad would be trained in the art not only of anti-communism but also of subversion.

It next states, truthfully, that Senator Mundt has urged that enrollment in the Freedom Academy should not be limited to American citizens, but that it be an international school and quotes him to this effect. The article concludes with the following words:

Wouldn't it be better to rename the Freedom Academy the Academy of the Science of Subversion?

This item is a wholesale lie, typical of the kind of “news” published in Soviet organs. It indicates, I believe, that the Communists are concerned about, and fearful of, the Freedom Academy and are already beginning their attempt to discredit it.

Mr. Boggs, the committee staff has checked into this quotation attributed to you, which allegedly spells out the function of the Freedom Academy. To clarify the record and to refute this Communist falsehood, I would like to state for the record what the staff learned.

First, you made no such statement in March of last year. Second, you did speak the exact words attributed to you on February 19 of last year, when you appeared before this committee to testify on your Freedom Academy bill and others then before it. Moscow, however, has twisted your words completely out of context.

What actually happened was that, in prefatory remarks you made before submitting your formal statement on the Freedom Academy for the record, you mentioned, among other things, that you believe one of the reasons the Peace Corps has been so successful was because it has demonstrated the basic idealism of Americans. You added that the Freedom Academy would provide an opportunity for us to channel the idealism and dedication “that are innate in our society to fighting the greatest threat that mankind has ever faced.”

Now we come to the important point. You continued—and I quote your exact words:

Now, in saying this, I do not want to derogate anyone. I think that the work done by our security agencies, the FBI particularly, on the domestic scene, the CIA elsewhere in the world, is by and large the highest type of activity on earth. But what is proposed here is something else. This is not intelligence work. It is not checking on subversives—all of which is vital and important to the security of this country and the security of free men everywhere. This is the use affirmatively of the great reservoir of talent that we have in the United States to show what the free system and what a free society can do. \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> S. 1232, Feb. 19, 1965, by Mr. Mundt—for himself, Mr. Case, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Fong, Mr. Hickenlooper, Mr. Lausche, Mr. Miller, Mr. Proudy, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Smathers.

Those were your full words.

I do not think you could have made a clearer and more explicit statement to the effect that the Freedom Academy was *not* in any way to do the work of, or to be patterned after, the FBI or the CIA.

You stressed the fact that just the opposite was true. Yet, the Kremlin has seen fit—and this, of course, is one of its typical performances—to lift your words completely out of context and attribute to you a meaning that is in 100 percent opposition to your true position.

As I said before, this Soviet use of the big-lie technique on this matter indicates that Moscow appreciates the significance of the bills now before this committee. It realizes the potential effect of a Freedom Academy on the long-term outcome of the cold war. It doesn't want a Freedom Academy established in this country. And so, because the truth cannot be used to discredit the Academy concept, it uses falsehood in an attempt to do so. This, perhaps, will assist the Congress and this committee in determining how they will vote on the bills we are now considering.

In other words, they just use your testimony in a 180-degree opposition to what you did say before this committee. I now insert this article mentioned in the statement at this point in the record.

(The article follows:)

[NEW TIMES - No. 18 - May 1, 1965]

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

U.S.A.

## Academy of the Science of Subversion

Senator Mundt recently made a long speech in the U.S. Senate on the plans to set up the so-called Freedom Academy.

A bill providing for its establishment has already been submitted to Congress. Speaking of the Academy's functions in March last year, Representative Boggs declared that the prototype of its activity should be "the work done by our security agencies, the FBI particularly on the domestic scene, the CIA elsewhere in the world." In short, it was a question of setting up an institution in which American diplomats, correspondents, businessmen, tourists and sportsmen going abroad would be trained in the art not only of

anti-communism but also of subversion.

While giving the Academy plan his full support, Senator Mundt suggested that enrolment should not be limited only to American citizens. He wants it to be an international school.

"We would bring servants of friendly governments to this country, persons asking for the training, and teach them," he said.

Among these persons he includes journalists, teachers and public figures wishing to master the methods of "psychological warfare" and subversion.

Wouldn't it be better to rename the Freedom Academy the Academy of the Science of Subversion?

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Chairman, as I understand what you are reading, apparently that article had said that I advocated the establishment of an academy of subversion?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, and that we wanted a broad, worldwide FBI-CIA agency.

Mr. BOGGS. Meaning, of course, that anything that is contradictory to Communist propaganda is subversion, and that is exactly what the meaning of that is: that any effort that we make to counteract their propaganda is not the use of the weapon that we seek to use, namely, the truth, but what they call subversion.

In a sense we do "subvert" communism, because it is hard to make a system, which basically is one of slavery, into one of freedom. So when you tell our story, the truth, it becomes a very devastating thing for the Communists.

When you compare the freedom of an American with the lack of freedom of a Soviet citizen or a Chinese citizen or any of the satellite people, the comparison is so tremendous that it is one that they don't like to hear. It is like the case of the Berlin wall. I know all of you have looked at that wall. That wall is erected, really, to keep the East Berliners in, not to keep anybody out, because if they can get out of there and take a look at what the rest of Berlin is like, they don't need any further testimony about freedom. It has been my observation, Mr. Chairman, over the years that I have been here, that the best way to test the effectiveness of a proposal is to see what the Soviet reaction is.

Now if they didn't think this was an effective idea, they wouldn't be so concerned about it.

I was in Berlin at the time of the airlift, flew in there on a plane loaded with coal. The efforts made by the Soviets to discredit the airlift and to discredit the Marshall plan, which was just then being talked about, were something fantastic. And I came away convinced that they were more afraid of the fact that we were staying in Europe and that we were prepared to work with the forces of genuine democracy than anything that had happened recently. So my reaction to that article is that they are really concerned about the Freedom Academy.

They know that if we really mobilize, as I said in my original statement, the talent, the latent talent that we have in this country, just to answer their obvious lies about the United States, that they are in serious trouble.

And the lies that are told by the millions about this country are fantastic to anyone who has traveled around and listened or read some of the propaganda. I remember going into a barbershop in New Delhi, in India, and you know how you do in a barbershop. You reach around and get something to read while you are waiting for the fellow to cut your hair, so I picked up a very smart-looking magazine that looked something like *LIFE* or *LOOK* and was very beautifully illustrated. Well, it turned out to be a Communist Party organ, published in Czechoslovakia, beautifully illustrated, and the whole theme of it was "the great leap forward." As they described it, they told all that they were supposedly doing for children and people and families and health and welfare and sanitation, and so on, and I be-



came curious about this, so I went to our people at the Embassy and at the information offices, and they pulled out just reams and reams and reams of these publications from the Soviet Union, China, and the satellites, including North Korea and North Vietnam.

So these people well understand what is proposed in this idea, because what they call subversion is what I call the truth, and in this case, truth directed against what they are doing really is subverting them. There is no question about that.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much; we appreciate your taking time out to appear before us.

We have with us Dr. William B. Walsh. Dr. Walsh is the founder and president of the Project HOPE, which, since 1960, has operated a hospital ship, SS *HOPE*. Project HOPE has served three continents and in 4 years has trained more than 2,500 physicians and other medical personnel and treated more than 100,000 persons. The ship has voyaged to Indonesia, South Vietnam, Peru, Ecuador, the Republic of Ghana.

Dr. Walsh, we are not only privileged but honored to have you and we are greatly indebted to you.

If you will, give us your views, not in technical terms, about the possibility of having a central place where we can do research, some training, on how to handle this cold war which has been with us and is likely to be with us for a long time to come.

We are delighted to have you and look forward to hearing your views.

#### STATEMENT OF WILLIAM B. WALSH

Dr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: First let me apologize to you for not having a prepared statement, but I have been in Latin America and in Africa over the bulk of the last 2 months and, in the past month, have actually been in Washington only 3 days, so we have not had time to prepare a statement for you.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you proceed, I overlooked that I have before me more detailed background material concerning your education and the many honors that have been conferred upon you and the high esteem that you have in this and other lands.

I will make this document a part of the record at this point.

(The document follows:)



## *The People to People Health Foundation, Inc.*

2233 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20007 • 338-6110

Biography of Dr. William B. Walsh,

Founder and President of Project HOPE

Dr. William B. Walsh was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., on April 26, 1920. After graduating from Brooklyn Preparatory School he attended St. John's University in New York, where he won the Hamilton Scholarship, majored in biology and received his B.S. Degree in 1940.

In 1948 Dr. Walsh received his M.D. from the Georgetown University School of Medicine, Washington, D. C., fulfilling his post-graduate training as an intern at Long Island College Hospital and Georgetown University Hospital.

Dr. Walsh's medical education was interrupted in 1943 by World War II. He served as a medical officer aboard a destroyer in the South Pacific until his discharge in 1946. The squalor and poor hospital conditions of the area began the young doctor's dream of returning with a floating medical school.

When, in 1958, President Eisenhower asked Dr. Walsh to co-chair the Committee on Medicine and the Health Professions of the President's new People-to-People Program, Dr. Walsh suggested that a Navy hospital ship be taken out of mothballs and converted into a floating medical center.

After he won approval of the idea, Dr. Walsh decided that it's success hinged on support from private American citizens, and he founded The People-to-People Health Foundation, Inc., the parent organization of Project HOPE, which sponsors the world-wide voyages of the S.S. HOPE.

At the time, Dr. Walsh was a noted internist and heart specialist, an assistant professor of internal medicine at Georgetown University, and an internal medicine resident at the school's hospital. Since then, he has given up his private practice to devote full time to his duties as medical director and president of Project HOPE.

Dr. Walsh lives with his wife Helen at 5101 Westpath Way in Washington with their three sons, William Jr., John and Thomas.

Dr. Walsh is the author of A Ship Called HOPE, an account of the S.S. HOPE's maiden voyage to Asia and is writing a second book on the ship's trips to Peru and Ecuador. A third book on HOPE in Africa will follow.

A full listing of Dr. Walsh's honors and affiliations follows:

HONORS

Medal of Merit, 1964, Government of Ecuador

Star of October, 1964, City of Guayaquil (Ecuador)

Certificate of Meritorious Service, 1964, Medical Society of  
the District of Columbia

National Citizenship Award, 1963, Military Chaplains Association of the U.S.A.

Special Service Award, 1963, American Association of Industrial Nurses

Gold Medal (Medallo de Oro), 1963, City of Trujillo (Peru)

Thanksgiving Award, 1963, Clarke (Iowa) College (First recipient)

Knight of the Daniel A. Carrion Order, 1962, Government of Peru

Knight of the Magisterial Palms, 1962, Government of Peru

Honorary Doctor of Science Degree, 1962, Georgetown University

Service to Mankind Award, Sertoma International

Humanitarian of the Year, 1961, Lions International

Volunteer of the Year Award, 1961, American Society of Association Executives

International Freedom Festival Award, 1961, City of Detroit

Distinguished Service Award, 1961, U. S. Information Agency

Health U.S.A. Award, 1961

John Carroll Award, 1961, Georgetown University (Washington, D. C.)  
Alumni Association

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

President of The People-to-People Health Foundation, Inc.

Member, American Medical Association

Member, District of Columbia Medical Society

Member, Board of Trustees, Landon School for Boys, Washington, D. C.

Member, Board of Governors, John Carroll Society, Washington, D. C.

Member, Board of Directors, Institute for Human Progress

Consultant in Internal Medicine to the Surgeon General of the Air Force

Former Vice Chairman of the Health Resources Advisory Committee,  
Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization

Former member, Executive Committee and Chairman of the Legislative Committee  
of the American Society of Internal Medicine

Former member, President's Advisory Committee on the Physical Fitness of Youth

Former member, Council on National Defense of the American Medical Association

Former Vice Chairman, President's Advisory Committee for the  
Selection of Doctors, Dentists and Allied Specialists for  
the Selective Service System

Past President, National Medical Veterans Society

Dr. WALSH. And I would like to make a second apology because, since my second bout with malaria, I have some eighth nerve deafness which I have not as yet corrected or obtained a hearing aid for, so if you have any questions, I would appreciate it if you would raise your voice just a little bit.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been so busy treating others that you have forgotten yourself.

Dr. WALSH. Yes; that is correct.

In speaking to this point I, of course, would not presume upon the wisdom of this committee to tell you what form the Freedom Academy should take, but rather to tell you that I agree 100 percent that something is very seriously needed.

As you were pointing out, our experience has borne out your conclusion that in this era of so-called cold war or coexistence, which means to me a continuing war without the use of thermonuclear weapons, the Soviet has not forgotten for a moment what its prime objective is. In virtually every walk of life to which we have been exposed on three continents, we have found that the Soviets are interested in everything that we do, in everything that the United States does, and they pay attention to details because they have been instructed to pay attention to details.

In Indonesia, for example, they didn't feel that we had any opportunity of success initially. But they soon found that the response of people to a gesture such as the *HOPE* was something they had not bargained for. So, shortly after we arrived, the Soviet had a team of 10 follow us through three different ports in Indonesia, sometimes preceding us, and attempting to frighten the people away from coming to the ship.

They distributed pamphlets; they described to the local people in Indonesia that the cameras which the physicians and nurses carried were for purposes of pornographic photography; that we were there to rape their women, not to treat them; that we were not really there to teach these people to help themselves, but primarily there for some nefarious political purpose, which was to lead to the overthrow of the Sukarno government.

Our purpose was really to teach and to train, and the fringe benefit of this purpose is naturally to give a different aspect of the United States.

This type of performance by the Soviet is repeated in legion throughout the countries in which we have been. They will attempt to infiltrate through local trainees. They even attempt to infiltrate our ranks here in the United States. They do all that they can to release rumors, to release things to the press which will upset public confidence in our project which depends, of course, in large part, upon public support for its continuation.

Now mind you, while this is the most important thing, perhaps, in my life, it is really a very small thing in the so-called cold war or battle for men's minds, but yet it is not so small as to have the Soviet overlook it. Even as recently as 2 months ago, we had two volunteers, physicians from among the 3,000 who volunteer every year, from one of the Western States; both of whom, I think, had been before your committee.

Had we not utilized the precaution that we always use of investigating all our volunteers before they are taken, we may well have been unaware that these people were actively engaged in activities against the United States.

Midway through our own investigation, we were coincidentally advised by the FBI that they would like to know the itinerary of these people, because they were highly active and dangerous, and they would like to be sure that they were followed, if we were to let them out of the country.

In this instance, since the FBI did not insist upon our letting them go, we, needless to say, did not let them go, because they are in too good a position to sabotage our program abroad.

This was, I would say, about the 15th and 16th attempts at infiltration of an effort even as small as ours, because it has a significant impact abroad, by known Communists in this country. To our knowledge, no physician, nurse, or technician who has been identified or known to be subversive has ever been on board, but this has not stopped them from trying.

I can't speak for the crews, because they are checked by the Coast Guard, but I do know that, on a few occasions, we have been alerted in regard to certain crewmembers who have been passed by the Coast Guard, but who have records, apparently, of past Marxist interest.

In working abroad, we found, for example, particularly in Vietnam, and I am not reticent to say so, a strange communion of policy between the Viet Cong and the French. The French virtually blackballed our every activity by totally ignoring our presence, despite the fact that they exercised heavy influence in the medical school of that country.

We reported this, of course, to the Ambassador, and the Ambassador was conscious of it, but as you well know, there is very little that he was able to do about it.

I have no doubt that this is continuing, because we have maintained a hospital in Saigon, a teaching center, since 1961, and our physicians who have been stationed there have reported to us constantly of this type of activity.

If I can digress for just a moment, I was not certain on reading your bill, about the extent of people to attend whatever institution you initiate, or whatever type of training you initiate, but I would hope that it would be not only open to Government officials, but open also to representatives of major businesses that go abroad.

Frequently, our foreign correspondents—who I do not say for one moment are un-American, believe me, but many of them are young and many of them are extremely gullible to propaganda—many of them go out among the people and, unfortunately, are cornered once again by the trained Communist, who they do not even know is a Communist, but who gradually is able to make an impression upon them.

I think you have seen this. Certainly in the reports from Vietnam, which reached such a peak and may have influenced our foreign policy, you may remember even President Kennedy was reported to have requested the removal of one correspondent from the country.

As late as this morning's paper, you saw the frustration of the USIA spokesman speaking on the Dominican Republic, who stated

that he wished the reporter who was writing for one well-known paper would talk to someone besides the rebels before he criticized his own Government so vigorously in the press.

I do not feel that this would in any way be intervention in the freedom of the press. I feel simply that they, too, are not so profound that they can't tolerate education along with the rest of us. We see now what is happening to the colleges throughout the country, in these so-called teach-ins, which to me, as an American, is almost unbelievable.

We see at the University of Oregon a man leading a teach-in who has been fired as a result of his wife's active activity at another university, where she was quoted as having stated that if we came into a war with Cuba, she hoped we would lose, so that we would be taught a lesson. And yet this man is given sufficient respect to lead a teach-in at the University of Oregon, at which representatives of our Government have to come and explain our policy.

I think this is a very strange position for us to find ourselves in, and I think that, somewhere along the line, whatever you have must also be broadened to get some of our educators in the Academy courses, or some of our own faculty members in the universities, so that the students will be exposed to both sides of any story.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me tell you that if the Academy becomes an actuality, the students, the attendance of this center, will cut across all segments of our society: labor, management, Government, foreign students, educational fields.

In fact, I would hope that some of the staff of the Governors and Members of Congress will take time to go, because the courses are going to vary.

We can get 2 months, 3 months, 2 years. It will cut across our whole society, both domestic and foreign attendants, or students, but of course the students are intended to be from the adult population.

So it is not restrictive. It is as broad as you can imagine.

Dr. WALSH. This will be, to me, an essential aspect of your effort, because too often we have the tendency to only blame our Government or our Government representatives when frequently it goes much further than this abroad.

In Latin America, too, I think we have been very derelict in whatever type of indoctrination we give our citizens, because we have permitted the Communists to merchandise and to virtually possess the word "change." Change is neither a word that belongs to—and I hate to use labels—but it is not a word that belongs to the liberals or the conservatives or the progressives. Change is progress, but yet in Latin America in particular, the Communists have merchandised the word "change," so that even when loyal Americans try to support something which is a change for the better, the citizens many times think, "Well, you must be a Communist, because you are trying to get us a change from what we are now experiencing."

Yet they are very aware of the impact of any American who goes into these cities and into these villages, who can bring about change.

When we first went to Peru, the Communist students littered the streets in Trujillo with "Yankee go home" signs. This was a town of about 100,000 people. They came to me in the street and told me that if we went into the barriadas with our program where, of course,

they were fomenting communism through misery and disease, that they would create violence and that people would be hurt and probably killed.

We are not responsive to this kind of threat, because we found that even when we were in Vietnam and went down into the delta that the Viet Cong did not bother medical teams. I think that our own State Department can tell you that now that they have put medical teams throughout the villages, that no matter what happens you will rarely read—and I don't think you have read—of a single member of any medical team in any village in the delta or in the north being touched by the Viet Cong.

When we went down into the delta, back in 1961-62, they would leave, in fact, their own wounded outside of a compound or outside of a hospital at which we were working. They would leave them there during the night, because they had no medical care of their own, and I feel that this is just one area where we can reach people through the field of medicine, and the same thing was true in the barriadas abroad.

In South America, within a week after we were there, the Communist students could do nothing about keeping us out. They had to let us in. We taught the people a little something about free enterprise; we taught them to dig a well and sell water so they could buy their own medicine, which they have done. And actually, the people of Trujillo soon found that employed residents of the barriadas are no longer Communists, but are almost a little bit on the capitalistic side.

This doesn't mean that these people are now members of the center, or perhaps just left of center but eventually they may be members of the center.

The same thing is true in Africa. I can speak primarily of West Africa, which I know fairly well, but there, once again, we are looked upon as are Europeans, with suspicion.

Too often, the representatives of our Government apologize to the African, which is a very bad thing to do, because the African does not understand this type of treatment.

The African is having troubles enough, without having seven representatives of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) sent to the Republic of Guinea so as to explain the civil rights problem in the United States. The African that we see in the villages is not nearly so concerned with civil rights as he is with his own progress and survival. At the top level we almost invite them to utilize this issue. We fortunately see them at the top level, but we also see them in the villages. There, they don't know what civil rights is.

Now this doesn't mean that civil rights is not a problem which this country must overcome, and it doesn't mean that civil rights has not been a long time coming, but we too often, particularly in Africa, advertise our deficiencies and are reticent about the things of which we should be proud. And I would hope that even this, this type of thing, is going to be included in the curriculum—not only the evils of communism, but some of the positive aspects of freedom, and the simple psychology that would relieve us of almost a national masochism abroad which affects us so that we seem to have to tell everyone of our deficiencies.



There is nothing more irritating, because these people then use this to blackjack us into types of help we would not give them by saying, "If you don't do this, it will prove you are really against the Negro," a statement with which no sane person in this country will agree.

The feeling of the necessity to explain these things is inviting interference into our own internal affairs by foreign governments, so that we even have civil rights spokesmen, and respected civil rights spokesmen, who now say that they are going to excite the African nations to the extent that the votes in the United Nations will have a bearing upon what we do in the United States in regard to civil rights.

I personally don't think that this country has come to that. I am for civil rights and I believe in civil rights, but I believe it is also our internal problem, and is not one that should be constantly explained by our ambassadors abroad.

I can't believe that this is anything but individual policy on the part of some of them. I can't believe that this is the wish of the Secretary of State, because he is a much wiser man, in my opinion, than this.

But I think that in going into your Academy, I realize you have to first establish an Academy before you establish a curriculum, but I would not identify it as primarily just an anti-Communist academy, or academy that just teaches communism and what communism is and how we should combat it. But I think it must also stress the positive parts of freedom, the positive parts of democracy, and also the understanding of the peoples with whom we deal. It is high time that, if we are going to continue to spend money abroad—and I believe we are going to have to, and we should—that we should not sell ourselves down the river at the same time by advertising that we are a land of plenty, but actually a land of much moral deficiency.

Now I will be happy to answer your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Dr. Walsh, I think you have answered about everything, particularly in the last few minutes, that I was going to ask you. And I think you have covered it, but I will ask you specifically if your experiences did not indicate that some of the U.S. officials or representatives abroad, both Government and private, sometimes because of ignorance of communism and its methods, make mistakes which aid the Communists and hurt the United States cold war effort?

Dr. WALSH. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you covered it, but I wanted to ask you.

Dr. WALSH. I would like to go off the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you want to go off the record?

Dr. WALSH. Just for this one statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will accord you that right.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now let's go on the record.

Dr. WALSH. This individual I referred to off the record was not a Communist. He sincerely believed he was doing the right thing. He wanted reforms to come overnight, and actually, he, without realizing it, was influencing a revolution, so much so that many of the American businesses in that country actually took full-page ads in the paper, saying that they did not agree with his position. Now this, to me, is either a lack of education and understanding on the part, say, of the individual, or a lack of understanding on the part

of the businessmen. I don't care which it was. It was lack of understanding on somebody's part and embarrassing to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think that a center, academy, where the true, solid evidence of Communist tactics, methods, and so on, and how to combat them would be taught, would help in that regard?

Dr. WALSH. Yes, I think he would have been helped appreciably. Somewhere along the line, all of us who are in work abroad have to find a place where we can be educated to be able to tell, on the fine points, who is what and what he is doing, and when is a Communist not a Communist. Just the fact that he makes a public declaration that he isn't, is not sufficient.

The CHAIRMAN. I might add that your reference or your expression of hope that the course will include discussions of a positive as well as the negative will be included. I have said this many times, but just since you have brought it up, we have heard a lot of evidence—the record is full of it—where people in the educational field can't seem to lay their hands on completely reliable material that can be imparted in schools and universities.

Specifically, some States, my own, have passed legislation requiring a course of Americanism versus Communism, and the teachers throw up their arms and say, "Well, what does that mean? What do I teach?"

Well, the material is not there in a concise, reliable way, and I have written to many of them. I said in effect, "I like the old Lucky Strike cigarette ad. 'Compare. Comparison proves.'" It is enough for these students, or even in colleges, to compare our school system as against the Communist school system, our system of free election against the nonexistence of election; our system of religion against their irreligious system, so that you are teaching the affirmative, and you are at the same time teaching the lack of those things in other areas, and that, of course, will be considered, I know, and the staff of this center will be of the highest.

They must not be of extreme right or extreme left, or anything of the sort, about developing our own system here and putting those things on the record.

Any questions?

Mr. POOL. No.

Mr. ICHORD. I would like to go off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. ICHORD. Going back on the record, I was very interested in your testimony concerning our publicity activities abroad, which fairly well parallels the testimony given by Mr. Meyerhoff of the Meyerhoff advertising agency. His idea was that we had the policy of reporting all of the things that go on in America, and he said, unfortunately, only the bad news is newsworthy and that we, by this policy, are giving people abroad a bad concept of what America is.

Dr. WALSH. There is no question about it. We see this not only in our own experience, but in many others. Good works are not considered newsworthy. If we were sued for malpractice by some African chieftain it would be on the front page, but, unfortunately, the competition in the sales of newspapers and magazines and so on is such that an article is much more readily printed in a magazine that

will call the President a dunderhead than one which says he is doing the right thing.

And I believe that this is something in our times with which we really must cope, because the fact that the President felt forced to sanction this long debate this coming weekend, with his advisers, on the television and radio, while it is not my position to criticize or commend him for it, the fact that he has been put in that position, to me, is almost unbelievable. I can't see how the Communists can do anything but gain by giving public exposure to those people who are going to condemn the United States. And I see another television program has Colonel Caamano on from the Dominican Republic, who threatens to kill more marines every day, and when he kills the marine, it is always because the marine has made a wrong turn—nothing about the fact that they should perhaps use restraint and that a three-man patrol in a jeep is really not violating a truce and is no real threat to the rebel holdings in Santo Domingo.

Mr. ICHORD. Along that line, Doctor, I have here a publication of USIA, *Ameryka*, which is a publication published in Poland by USIA, which Mr. Meyerhoff handed to the committee. This is an October 1964 issue, and it, I suppose—I can't read Polish—however, I have taken it to one of our Polish Members, a Member of the Congress of Polish descent, who could read Polish, and he was very critical of the issue.

It shows picture after picture, photograph after photograph, of racial riots and unrest in the United States, one in actual physical combat. You seem to be concerned about this. He was concerned about it. Of course, I know what USIA intends to do here.

They are trying to show the Polish people that in this country we do have freedom of assembly. I would like for you to elaborate.

Mr. WALSH. Well, I understand also the motivation of USIA in printing such a thing. They feel that it is better that it come from us instead of a distorted version from them. I think that the only error that I would feel in this policy is that surprisingly, at least in the countries in which we have been, they really are not that interested in what is going on, because most of them have so many troubles of their own. I think that inadvertently, and with sincere motivation, we put a weapon actually in their hands, because they then blow this up, not as the isolated instance, because, remember, when a magazine like this, say, hits Africa, where over 90 percent of the people can't read, what makes you think that the political leaders don't change the wording under the pictures? Because all they can show are the pictures, and they show the pictures in their movie houses, and so on, and they show them around.

Now, once again, I am sure that the magazine has 90 percent positive things about the United States, and I don't feel that we should ape the Soviet by any means, but some of the most magnificent publications I have ever seen in North Africa, in West Africa, and in Asia are the Chinese publications which would make you think it was a land of complete and utter paradise.

Now we know this isn't true, but the ignorant African doesn't know it, and the other ignorant Asian isn't too sure of it, and this is what he looks at. And I feel that here rather than the question of motivation is the question of understanding of what this whole business of cold war and coexistence is about, is something that has to be reexam-

ined to the extent that it is possible that these agencies may then want to give reconsideration to this policy.

Now, USIA, for example, has been very good in regard to Project HOPE. They made movie films and everything else, and they spread them all over South America and received a very, very good reaction, but if in that same movie clip, there was a race riot, you can bet your boots they would remember the race riots rather than the HOPE shot, in Latin America.

Mr. ICHORD. In any event, this is the type of thing which needs to be studied by an institution such as the Freedom Academy, whether this policy is right or wrong, and perhaps we can see whether we should, for example, have, as suggested by this Member of Congress of Polish descent, a human-interest story of a Congressman whose parents came from Poland, showing his activities in the Congress of the United States and how he was elected by his constituents to be a part of his Government. That was what he suggested would be much better material.

Dr. WALSH. Well, I don't think we should do ourselves damage under the guise of intellectual honesty, because after all, this is a political organ. It is an American political organ, and why should we pretend it is anything else?

Mr. ICHORD. That is correct. I am sure that this was published in absolute good faith. However, I do question the effect, the desirable effect of the publication.

Thank you very much, Doctor. I would like to ask one more question. How many doctors do you have on the SS HOPE?

Dr. WALSH. Well, between doctors and nurses, and so on, we carry 110 at a time, 110 teachers at a time. Somewhere between 30 and 35 are physicians. They come from 43 States and they are all volunteers. We don't pay them a nickel. They all work for nothing. They spend at least 2 months of their time, and we have already used in 4 years, now 4½ years, 621 doctors, who have been selected from actually about 3,000 applications a year, and they come from all over, and so we really get the cream. Their average age is about 45. They are at the height of their ability to produce, and they are under no inhibitions when they go, and we organize them.

Mr. ICHORD. Where is the ship at the present time?

Dr. WALSH. The ship at the present time is still in Africa, and then it is committed for the next 2 years to go to Nicaragua, and then to northern Colombia.

Mr. ICHORD. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Clawson?

Mr. CLAWSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Walsh, your appearance here has been refreshing to me. With your background and experience and the service that you have provided in many foreign countries, I am sure this gives you and your testimony credence before this committee on the subtleties and the sophistication of today's communistic techniques. I think from your testimony that even this emphasis on the theme "peaceful coexistence" is another technique of the Communist activity today in trying to destroy freedom and liberty as we know and understand it.

Dr. WALSH. That's right.

Mr. CLAWSON. There are, however, some rather refreshing and, I think, encouraging signs on the horizon. One of them has come to my attention just since our last session. And, Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would like to refer to the Howard Payne College in Brownwood, Texas. Can you hear me all right?

Dr. WALSH. Yes, I can hear you.

Mr. CLAWSON. I think this would please you because of what you have said and done. They have established the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom in the State of Texas and began its operation in September 1963. I would like to read just a few paragraphs of their philosophy, aims, purposes, and standards, and perhaps we can gain some experience from their activity when we establish an academy on the Federal level.

I quote from a brochure published by Howard Payne College:

The purpose of the program is to prepare young people thoroughly to understand the world in which they live, to appreciate the problems which they face, to recognize the place of Christian leadership and to be able, successfully, to present the point of view of the Free World. Such preparation should then enable a graduate of the Academy to go into foreign service for his country, to become an intelligent diplomat, to represent American corporations in foreign areas, to be a capable statesman at home as well as to be intelligent proponents of ideas and ideals calculated to promote world peace and world progress wherever he may be. It would also provide a rich background for training toward foreign missions.

And they go on. I think perhaps I will skip over most of it and read just a few paragraphs:

Since the entire program would be designed and directed toward providing an understanding and intelligent support of freedom and liberty, it will naturally consider those threats to them.

Although the signers of the Constitution expressed the desire to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," such is not possible. Each new generation must secure anew for themselves "the blessings of liberty."

Each new generation must, therefore, overcome the threats to liberty which they face. Because of the repeated declarations of communism to control the world, it seems imperative that those who cherish freedom should understand the aims, plans, actions and status of communism to today's world. Thus, there will be special courses designed to teach not only the theory of Marxism-Communism, but its historical significance former attempts at its use, and the practice of communism as found in Russia and China today.

And they continue with this same kind of theme. Now I don't know what the experience has been but, Mr. Chairman, at this point, I would like to have unanimous consent to insert the Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 47 of the legislature of the State of Texas and "Facing the Future with Faith and Knowledge," from the university, and the "Academic Characteristics," as part of the record. I think it would be helpful to the committee.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to also join with my colleague in making the presentation and asking unanimous consent, also, since the State of Texas is my State.

Mr. CLAWSON. It is your State. I think it is wonderful that one of our States has already moved in this direction in one of their educational institutions.

The CHAIRMAN. The material referred to will be inserted at this point in the record.

(The documents referred to follow:)

By: Parkhouse  
Crump

## SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 47

**WHEREAS**, In the one hundred eighty years of its existence, the United States of America has vindicated the faith of its founding fathers in the type of political, economic and moral system they envisioned by becoming the strongest and most effective free nation in modern history; and

**WHEREAS**, Americans are now engaged in a life and death struggle with the forces both inside and outside the nation which seek to destroy the basic freedoms and values which undergird the nation's strength; and

**WHEREAS**, The administration and faculty of Howard Payne College, a four-year Baptist institution of higher education in Brownwood, Texas, believe that the American heritage, Judeo-Christian traditions and the free enterprise system have a special affinity of purpose which needs to be understood and preserved; and

**WHEREAS**, Believing that higher education has an indispensable role in the protection of the nation and in the promotion of the ideas upon which it was founded, Howard Payne College has established the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom which will become operative in September, 1963, the first center of this kind ever established on a college or university campus; and

**WHEREAS**, The idea for the Academy is an outgrowth of the college's Democracy in Action program, which won an award from the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, as the outstanding project of its kind in the nation; and

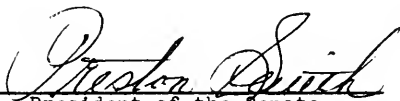
**WHEREAS**, Unlike most "freedom" and "anti-communism" efforts now in operation, the program will be objective and non-partisan, not seeking to impose the viewpoint of any group or organization; and

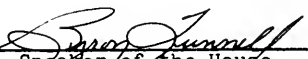
**WHEREAS**, It should be a matter of pride to all Texans that a small private liberal arts college in the Southwest is the first in the nation to undertake such a program; and

**WHEREAS**, Named for the great American leader who said that the protection of this country "will only be possible if we regain some of the spirituality and wisdom of our forefathers which caused them to ordain by constitutional precepts that government be servant rather than master of the people," the Academy of Freedom will have the following three stated obligations:

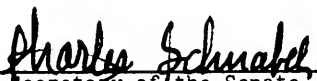
(1) it will be maintained on a high professional and educational level; (2) it will be non-partisan politically and seek to inspire all student members to search diligently for the truth without **being inhibited in any area of life**, thought and action; and (3) it will seek and maintain the highest type of professional leadership in the academic world and give these leaders freedom to inspire students to fuller understanding of the American heritage and the destructive processes in our culture and help them prepare themselves for any and all areas of public life and civic responsibility; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Senate of the 58th Legislature of Texas, the House of Representatives concurring, that Howard Payne College and its administration and faculty, particularly Dr. Guy D. Newman, president of the college, be commended and congratulated on the concept, planning, philosophy and goals of the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom and wish them every success in this important undertaking.

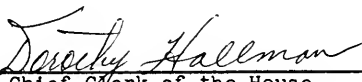
  
President of the Senate

  
Speaker of the House

I hereby certify that S. C. R.  
 No. 47 was adopted by the Senate  
 on April 16, 1963.

  
Secretary of the Senate

I hereby certify that S. C. R.  
 No. 47 was adopted by the House  
 on April 16, 1963.

  
Chief Clerk of the House







FACING THE FUTURE  
WITH FAITH  
AND KNOWLEDGE

*The Douglas MacArthur*  
**ACADEMY OF FREEDOM**

*occupies a distinctive campus  
as the Interdisciplinary  
Honors Program of the  
Social Sciences Division of  
Howard Payne College*

## DOUGLAS MacARTHUR ACADEMY OF FREEDOM

Unique among the nation's colleges is an Honors Program at Howard Payne College called the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom.

The Academy Program is a concentrated liberal arts curriculum, largely in the social sciences, designed for superior students who wish to examine in depth the meaning of the American Way of Life, the threats to the survival of that way of life, the value of inter-American solidarity, and means by which American traditional values may be appreciated, protected, and advanced.

The Academy Program is open only to upperclass students who have maintained an honor point average of at least 1.8 either at Howard Payne College or at the college from which they have transferred.

Members in the Academy of Freedom are classified as:

Minor members—Students from any division of the college who have qualified for the comprehensive minor course of study in the Academy.

Major members—Students majoring in the Division of Social Sciences who are accepted for the comprehensive major course of study in the Academy.

Fellows —Selected Major members nominated by the faculty of the Division of Social Sciences during senior year.

Students who wish to enter the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom are urged to file an "Indication of Intent" with the Director of the Academy of Freedom during their freshman year as a means of alerting their faculty adviser and the Faculty Academy of Freedom Council of their interest. A formal application will be required in the semester preceding full eligibility for membership. Members are selected by vote of the Faculty Academy of Freedom Council. As befitting superior students they may select any of several paths through the optional courses in the Academy of Freedom.

To receive the Academy of Freedom diploma, a major in the Academy must pass a comprehensive examination covering Academy courses which he has taken.

Any member of the Academy of Freedom who drops below a 2.0 grade average in the courses taken during his junior year, or receives any form of disciplinary correction loses his eligibility to continue as a member during his senior year, but he retains the course credits earned during his membership to apply toward his normal graduation.

## GENERAL REQUIREMENTS

### Degree

The Academy of Freedom program requires completion of at least 128 semester hours. A B average must be maintained during the junior and senior years. The degree awarded is that of the Bachelor of Arts. The diploma of major members will be suitably embossed to show completion of the Academy of Freedom Honors Program.

### Prerequisites

A candidate for membership in the Academy of Freedom must have completed his sophomore year and have at least a 1.8 grade average at the time of admission to the Academy.

All candidates must have earned credit for:

American History (Hist. 201-2—6 hours) and

American and State Government (Pol. Sc. 201-2—6 hours).

### Curriculum

A comprehensive interdisciplinary major program or a comprehensive interdisciplinary minor program, each with two choices of emphasis (called paths), is available through the Academy of Freedom program. This program will supply both the major and minor for the Bachelor of Arts degree. The plan features the opportunity for superior students to have a wide selection of options.

### Costs

Participation in the Academy of Freedom requires slightly higher tuition fees than do other programs at Howard Payne College.

## Comprehensive Major

The comprehensive interdisciplinary major requires, in addition to the fifteen hours of social science courses included in the general educational requirements:

1. A minimum of six semester hours in each of the departments of Economics, History, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology. The courses, World Geography (Geo. 301), Cold War Semantics (Speech 428), or Problems in Americanism (Soc. Sc. 402) may be substituted for one course in any discipline except Economics. Democracy and Totalitarianism (Pol. Sc. 301) is required.

*Thirty semester hours.*

2. Completion of Christian Ethics in Today's World. (Phil. 302)

*Three semester hours.*

3. Six additional semester hours of advanced courses in one of the social science disciplines, or Social Science 400, The Academy of Freedom American Shrines Seminar.

*Six semester hours.*

*Total Thirty-nine semester hours, of which  
twenty-two hours are advanced.*

## Composite Teaching Field Major

This variation of the Comprehensive Major is designed as an integrated social science honors program to meet the requirements for one composite teaching field. The following plan will complete the major and minor requirements for the Bachelor of Arts degree and will lead to certification for teaching in secondary schools.

## General Requirements

	HRS.
English 101, 102, 201, 202 .....	12
Foreign Language .....	12
Physical Education (Activity) .....	4
Science/Mathematics .....	12
Bible 101, 102... ..	6
Psychology 100 .....	1
Fine Arts .....	6
Elective .....	3

## Social Science Courses

<b>ECONOMICS</b>	
203—Outlines of Economics .....	3
Elective—Advanced Economics .....	3
 <b>HISTORY</b>	
101-102—World History .....	6
201-202—History of United States .....	6
315—American Heritage .....	3
Electives—Advanced History .....	6
 <b>PHILOSOPHY</b>	
302—Christian Ethics .....	3
 <b>PSYCHOLOGY</b>	
408—Group Dynamics .....	3
(Academy members may substitute this course for Psy. 121)	
 <b>GEOGRAPHY</b>	
301—World Geography .....	3
 <b>POLITICAL SCIENCE</b>	
201—American Government .....	3
202—State and Local Government .....	3
301—Democracy and Totalitarianism .....	3
Elective—Advanced Political Science .....	3
 <b>SOCIOLOGY</b>	
Elective .....	3
 <b>SOCIAL SCIENCE</b>	
401—Teaching of Social Science in the Secondary Schools .....	3
	<hr/> 54

(Social Science 400—the six hour summer field trip, American Shrines Traveling Seminar, may be used as an elective, or combination of electives in any field except history.)

## Professional Education Courses

Ed 315—Adolescent Psychology .....	3
Ed 411—Directed Learning in the Secondary School .....	3
Ed 321(s)—Evaluation and Guidance .....	3
Ed 423—Philosophy of Education .....	3
Ed 419-420—Student Teaching in the Secondary School .....	6
	<hr/> 18
<b>TOTAL HOURS</b> .....	<hr/> <b>128</b>

## Comprehensive Minor

A comprehensive interdisciplinary minor program is offered to students of all divisions. The comprehensive minor will satisfy one teaching field requirement for prospective teachers when approved by the Texas Education Agency.

Participants in the minor program are Minor members of the Academy of Freedom and are entitled to enroll in any Academy course, including the Academy of Freedom American Shrines Seminar. They are not eligible for selection as Academy Fellows; neither may they be considered life-time members of the Academy of Freedom.

In addition to fifteen hours of the general education prerequisite social science courses, the comprehensive minor consists of:

1. A minimum of three semester hours in each of the departments of Economics, History, Psychology, Sociology, and Political Science. (World Geography may be substituted for any course, and the Academy of Freedom American Shrines Seminary for any two courses, except Economics).

*Fifteen semester hours.*

2. Christian Ethics in Today's World. (Phil. 302)

*Three semester hours.*

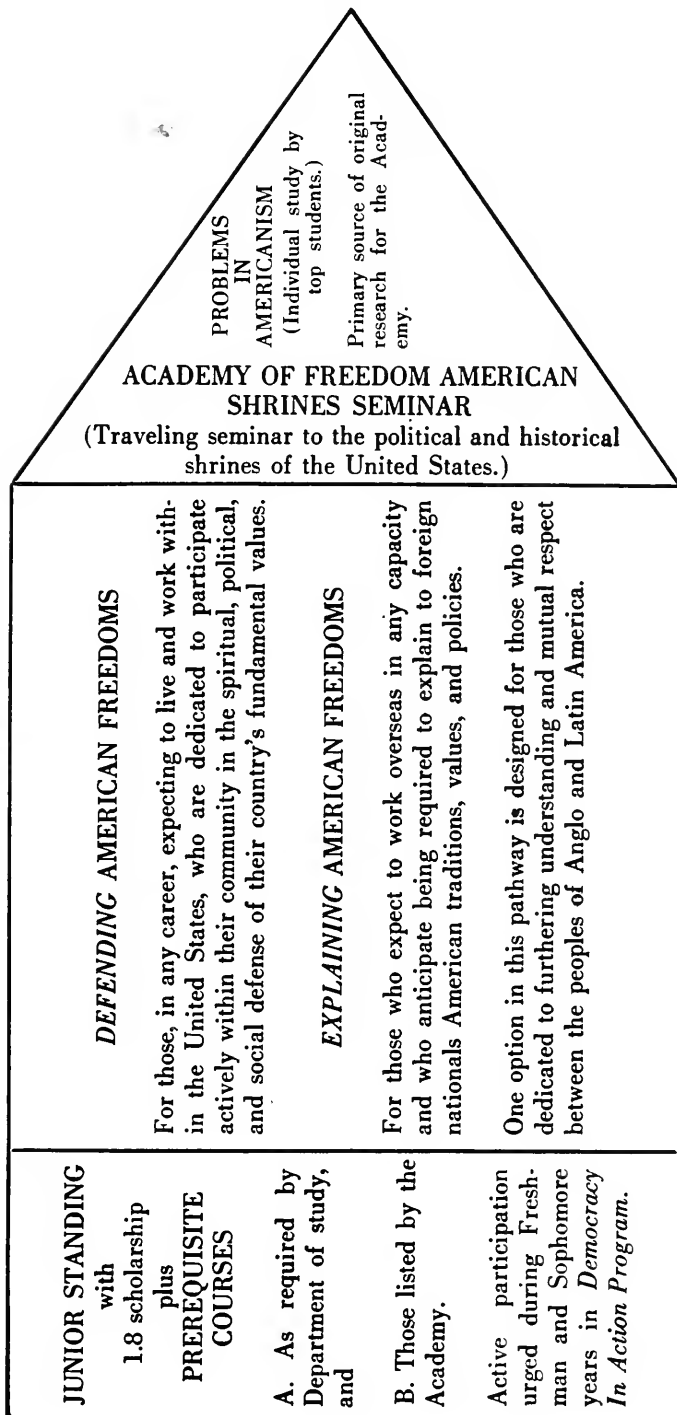
3. Democracy and Totalitarianism. (Pol. Sc. 301)

*Three semester hours.*

*Total Twenty-one semester hours.*

# DOUGLAS MacARTHUR ACADEMY OF FREEDOM

## Paths Through the Academy



## Defending Path

1. Major Members who elect to follow the **Defending Path** through the Academy of Freedom must complete the indicated number of the following courses:

Group A: Each of the following courses is required:

Christian Ethics in Today's World

(Phil. 302—Three semester hours)

Democracy and Totalitarianism

(Pol. Sc. 301—Three semester hours)

Group B: At least two of the following courses, which are *exclusively* for Academy members, must be completed:

American Heritage (Hist. 315—Three semester hours)

Formulation of United States National Strategy

(Pol. Sci. 408—Three semester hours)

Contemporary American Social Problems

(Soc. 408—Three semester hours)

Group C: Two of the following courses are to be completed:

The Academy of Freedom American Shrine Seminar

(Soc. Sc. 400—Six semester hours)

The American Free Enterprise System

(Econ. 400—Three semester hours)

American Constitutional Development

(Pol. Sc. 405—Three semester hours)

Social Psychology (Psy. 304—Three semester hours)

The United States Since 1914

(Hist. 312—Three semester hours)

World Geography (Geog. 301—Three semester hours)

2. Minor Members who select the **Defending Path** must take both Group A courses and at least one course from Group B and one from Group C with all courses being in different disciplines. Prospective teachers must take Teaching of Social Sciences in Secondary Schools (Soc. Sc. 401—Three semester hours) which may be substituted for either a psychology or a sociology course.

## Explaining Path

1. Students who elect to follow the **Explaining Path** through the Academy of Freedom may be either:

A. Those students who anticipate serving church, government, or business overseas, or



- B. Those students oriented toward Latin America and desiring to participate in the development of mutual respect and understanding between the peoples of the U.S. and Latin America.

2. Major Members who follow the General **Overseas** Plan must complete the following courses:

Language: Eighteen semester hours of foreign language.

Group A: Each of the following courses is required:

Christian Ethics in Today's World.

(Philo. 302—Three semester hours)

Democracy and Totalitarianism

(Pol. Sc. 301—Three semester hours)

Group B: At least two of the following courses, which are exclusively for Academy members, must be completed:

American Heritage (Hist. 315—Three semester hours)

Group Dynamics

(Psy. 408—Three semester hours)

Comparative Economic Systems

(Econ. 408—Three semester hours)

Cold War Semantics

(Speech 428—Three semester hours)

Group C: Two of the following courses are to be completed:

The Academy of Freedom American Shrine Seminar

(Soc. Sc. 400—Six semester hours)

Comparative Government

(Pol. Sc. 312—Three semester hours)

International Politics

(Pol. Sc. 306—Three semester hours)

Political Geography

(Pol. Sc. 304—Three semester hours)

Diplomatic History of the United States

(Hist. 402—Three semester hours)

World Population Problems

(Soc. 401—Three semester hours)

3. Major Members who follow the **Anglo-Latin American** Plan must complete at least eighteen semester hours of Spanish, the two Group A courses, one course from Group B, one from Group C, and Latin American History (Hist. 310—Three semester hours)

4. Minor Members who select the **Overseas** Plan must take eighteen semester hours of foreign languages, the two Group A

courses, and at least one course from Group B, and one from Group C. Prospective teachers must take Teaching of Social Sciences in Secondary Schools (Soc. Sc. 401—3 semester hours) which may be substituted for the psychology or sociology course.

5. Minor Members who select the **Anglo-Latin American Plan** must complete at least eighteen semester hours of Spanish, the two Group A courses, and Latin American History (Hist. 310)

### Exclusive Academy Courses

The Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom offers certain courses and seminars that are distinctive. These courses are limited to members of the Academy of Freedom. None of these seminars may be taken by audition. They include:

*Problems in Americanism.* See Social Science 402.

*Cold War Semantics.* See Speech 428.

*Group Dynamics.* See Psychology 408.

*American Heritage.* See History 315.

*Formulation of United States National Strategy.* See Political Science 408.

*Comparative Economic Systems.* See Economics 408.

*Contemporary American Social Problems.* See Soc. 408.

### Academy Fellow

A limited number of outstanding Major Members of the Academy may, on their application, be designated as Fellows of the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom during their senior or graduate year. No student shall be eligible for consideration as a Fellow unless he has successfully completed one year as an Academy member.

Academy Fellows shall constitute the Student Council of the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom as the highest representatives of, and spokesmen for, the student members of the Academy. Their representatives normally will meet regularly with the Faculty Academy of Freedom Council.

Academy Fellows will constitute the members of a research seminar titled Problems In Americanism, (Soc. Sc. 402). They will work as a joint seminar and as independent researchers under one or more members of the faculty.

The objective of the course of study pursued by the Fellows will be the production of an original thesis which will have practical value as a tool for spreading to widely dispersed mature audiences the activities and accomplishments of members of the Academy.

### **Distinctive Emblem**

A major member of the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom who completes one year of Academy work with a 2.0 average shall be entitled, after formal enrollment for his second year as a member of the Academy of Freedom, to wear as a lapel pin a reproduction of the official seal of the Academy. This will then be a permanent emblem to be worn during the lifetime of the recipient, if he successfully completes the Academy requirements and receives his Academy diploma. All lapel pins will be numbered and engraved and ownership permanently recorded.

Minor members, as well as major members, who successfully complete one year in the Academy program are authorized to wear an embroidered blazor.

Members of the Academy who fail to qualify for a second year of membership, or who drop out for any reason, are not regarded as having permanent membership in the Academy of Freedom and are not eligible to receive or to wear the Academy's seal.

It is anticipated that permanent members of the Academy of Freedom will maintain a continuing association with the Academy by means of Academy publications and correspondence; that they will have seating preference at all Academy lectures and other functions; and that they will accept invitations from the Academy to represent the Academy of Freedom as guest speakers or as ceremonial representatives at functions within their area of residence after they have completed their study at Howard Payne College.

### **Distinguished Guest Speakers**

From time to time the Academy will sponsor appearances of distinguished speakers. The principal addresses of these speakers will be open to the entire college, except that when seating space is at a premium, students in the Academy of Freedom will have priority.

An After Lecture Seminar of approximately one hour will normally follow each address, and these intimate off-the-record discussions are restricted to Academy of Freedom members and faculty.

HOWARD PAYNE COLLEGE  
Brownwood, Texas

The Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom

Academic Characteristics

1. The Academy of Freedom is organized as an integral part of Howard Payne College, a well-established, small, private, denominational, fully-accredited, liberal arts college.
  - a. The Academy is a unique study program within the Social Sciences Division.
  - b. Completion of the major program leads to a Bachelor of Arts degree.
  - c. A Major Member of the Academy completes his major and minor academic requirements in the one program. A Minor Member fulfills the minor study needs for his appropriate degree.
  - d. The program is deliberately restricted to selected superior students capable of pursuing accelerated studies in small classes.
  - e. The program goal is the development of men and women capable of assuming leadership roles in church, civic, government, professional, or business activities.
  - f. Instruction is under a completely open academic environment of free inquiry. Students are selected on the assumption that they are capable of formulating their own individual character and philosophy from the foundations offered by home, church, and school training.
  - g. Courses are "non-partisan politically and seek to inspire all student members to search diligently for the truth without being inhibited in any area of life, thought, and action."
  - h. The professors assigned to the program are individuals with advanced degrees who are avowedly Christians and loyal American citizens. They are encouraged to explain their personal beliefs when appropriate without demanding conformity or agreement from the students.

2. The Academy of Freedom program is specifically designed for broad coverage and assimilation.

- a. Spiritually, all courses will incorporate concepts and views that re-emphasize the role that the Judeo-Christian beliefs, ethics, and standards have played in the formulation of Western and American civilization.
- b. Emotionally, courses will include elements that will kindle an appreciation of what it means to be an American by tracing the nation's political, cultural, and military heritage, and the free enterprise tradition within the existing environment of current national problems and future challenges and opportunities.
- c. Mentally, courses will undertake to force the individual to demonstrate his capacity and worth by requiring a high degree of concentrated, disciplined, and objective scholarship.

3. The Academy of Freedom is an honors program.

- a. It is limited to upper classmen who must have completed background prerequisites.
- b. It requires a B-minus average to enter, and a B average to remain, with no grade below C.
- c. The course contents include numerous requirements for individual papers and oral reports as well as generous allowance for student participation.
- d. A Major Member must demonstrate integration of his studies by passing a comprehensive examination in his final semester.

4. The Academy of Freedom is an interdisciplinary social sciences program.

- a. Fifteen semester hours of social sciences in three separate disciplines are required as prerequisites.
- b. For breadth, at least two three-hour courses must be taken in each of the disciplines of Economics, History, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology, while one advanced course is required in Philosophy.
- c. For depth, six additional semester hours of advanced studies must be taken in any one of the social sciences.

5. The Academy of Freedom is liberal arts oriented. It emphasizes the broadly educated person rather than centering on professional training for a specific occupation.

- a. The program meets the normal preparatory needs for graduate work in the social sciences.
- b. The program is an ideal selection for the prospective high school teacher of any of the social sciences. One aspect is specifically designed to meet the requirements for the composite substantive teaching field.
- c. The program will fill the normal preparatory needs for admission to law school.
- d. Applicants for examinations for state or federal governmental management positions will find the program a perfect blending for their needs.
- e. The emphasis of the program in dealing with studies of all areas of human relationships will increase the competence of any individual who plans to enter church or business organizations, either in the United States or overseas.

6. The Academy of Freedom is a program offering wide choice in the selection of courses.

- a. Only two specified courses are required of all members.
  - (1). Christian Ethics in Today's World studies the basic questions and systems in ethical theory as perceived from the Christian point of view.
  - (2). Democracy and Totalitarianism is a comparative study of the practical application of the theories of capitalism, socialism, fascism, and communism with a view to discovering and analyzing those aspects of totalitarianism that are most vulnerable to the influences of democratic and free enterprise concepts and practices.
- b. Major Members must take two of the following courses that are available only to Academy members.
  - (1). The Academy of Freedom American Shrines Seminar. This covers one summer term, with one month being a field trip to the historical sites, public institutions, natural wonders, and the population and industrial centers of the Northeastern United States, including Washington D. C., and New York City.

- (2). Problems in Americanism. This is a select seminar for Academy of Freedom Fellows to meet jointly for review and discussion of the results of their continuing independent and individual research. The objective of the research will be the production of an original written thesis in the general area of the Meaning of America, Threats to American Values, Advancing the American Ideal, or some similar study.
- (3). Group Dynamics. This course utilizes the principles of social psychology to study discussion and small group leadership and the interactions involved in persuasion and behavior in groups.
- (4). American Heritage. The course studies the historical development of American culture as a basis for understanding the contemporary American scene.
- (5). Formulation of United States National Strategy. This is a comprehensive integrated seminar, bringing together the accumulated knowledge of the final semester senior. The class operates as the National Security Council, with each student representing his major field of career study, to formulate those major domestic and foreign policies which he feels should guide the American strategy. Strategy in this sense is the integrating of national political, economic, sociological, military power to obtain common objectives.
- (6). Comparative Economic Systems. This course will develop an understanding of the basic distinctions between capitalism, the various types of socialism, and communism with particular emphasis upon the implications of each to future American policy.
- (7). Contemporary American Social Problems. This course employs the findings and principles of sociology to develop awareness, factual knowledge, and understanding of present social problems.
- (8). Cold War Semantics. This is a study of the misunderstandings that develop when people use identical words but with different meanings, or when people give their own interpretation to words without understanding their real meanings. The course will help eliminate misunderstandings and, consequently, create more confidence between individuals and groups, in social or diplomatic relationships.

- c. The remaining courses in the social sciences are at the option of the student except that prospective teachers must take the social science course titled, Teaching of Social Sciences in Secondary Schools.
- d. Each member must orient his course arrangement toward either an overseas environment or life in the United States. The domestic route requires two years of foreign language while the overseas plan calls for three years of foreign language.

7. Finally, the Academy of Freedom is not an end in itself. It is only one of several programs offered in a college with a seventy-five year tradition of service in higher education. The Academy of Freedom is a means for screening those young people whose high character and dedication have attracted them to Howard Payne College by offering those with proven intellectual attainments an opportunity to concentrate their studies in those aspects of knowledge most intimately associated with contemporary problems of the American way of life.



The CHAIRMAN. There are no further questions?

Doctor, we appreciate your appearance, and I am grateful for your views and a very fine presentation.

Dr. WALSH. Thank you, sir.

**STATEMENT OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES BY BRIG. GEN. JAMES D. HITTLE, U.S. MARINE CORPS (RETIRED)**

The CHAIRMAN. Now at this point, I would like to insert in the record the statement of Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired. General Hittle is director of national security and foreign affairs of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

This statement includes the text of a resolution endorsing the Academy adopted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. This statement is to be inserted in the record.

(The statement referred to follows:)

**STATEMENT OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES BY BRIG. GEN. JAMES D. HITTLE, USMC (RETIRED)**

Mr. Chairman: My name is Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC (Retired). I appear before you in my position as director of national security and foreign affairs of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States is happy to have the privilege of appearing before this committee with respect to the establishment of a United States Freedom Academy.

This statement is submitted at the direction of, and with the approval of, Mr. John A. Jenkins, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars supports in principle the establishment of a Freedom Academy.

The reason why the VFW supports the Freedom Academy can be summarized as follows:

The United States and our allies of the free world are locked in a protracted struggle with communism. The issue at stake is a very simple and basic one. It is whether or not the United States of America, together with the beliefs and institutions, which are our heritage, can survive.

This, in essence, is the threat faced by all other freedom-loving peoples regardless of the details of their governmental structure.

Communism, operating on the basis of a strategy applied on a worldwide scale, is ruthless, persistent, and patient in its determination to achieve its goal of world conquest.

If we are to persevere through to victory, we must know our enemy. That means we must have, as a nation, a clear, a definite, and a true understanding of communism as a philosophy and as a system. Such knowledge of our enemy and the threat he poses is indispensable to defeating that threat.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars believes the Freedom Academy can fulfill a great need in providing authoritative, realistic knowledge of communism and the danger it poses.

Such Academy, the VFW believes, should analyze and expose the nature of Communist aggression with its many facets, military, economic, social, and propaganda.

We must also, as a nation, be mindful of our strength and our weaknesses as they relate to overcoming the Communist threat. This, too, it would seem, would be a function of the courses of study at the Freedom Academy.

The position of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in this matter is based upon Resolution No. 137, unanimously adopted by the thousands of delegates attending our 1964 national convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to insert for the record the text of Resolution No. 137:

*Whereas*, the international Communist conspiracy is waging a total political war against the United States and against the peoples and governments of all other nations of the free world; and

*Whereas*, the United States must develop the methods and means to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism, and must educate and train leaders at all levels who can understand the full range and depth of the Communist attack and can visualize and organize the methods and means needed to meet and defeat this attack and to work for the preservation and extension of freedom, national independence, and self-government; and

*Whereas*, a proposal has been submitted to the Congress of the United States for the creation of the necessary agency for the accomplishment of these purposes: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, by the 65th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we urge immediate establishment of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy by the President and Congress of the United States to insure survival of world liberty.

There is one vital question that must be resolved before the Freedom Academy is actually established. I refer to the method of control for such an Academy. The role of such an Academy, in formulating national thought concerning the Communist threat and the methods of overcoming it, is so critically important that the governing body of the Academy must be so organized that its theoretical and actual adherence to the anti-Communist objectives is fully assured. It must be so composed as to make certain that softness, tolerance, and sympathy with communism in any form will not creep into the curriculum and the attitude of the Academy.

It would seem, therefore, that the governing body for a Freedom Academy should be established by law and should include, but not be limited to, the following:

Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Secretary of Defense (or his representative).

Secretary of State (or his representative).

The chairman and ranking minority member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, United States Senate.

The chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives.

It is submitted, Mr. Chairman, that unless such standards as set forth above are maintained for the Freedom Academy, then a Freedom Academy should not itself be established. A Freedom Academy controlled by those unsympathetic to its intended purpose would be, in final analysis, more dangerous in existence than if it had never been created.

At a later time, Mr. Chairman, the VFW will be glad to make more specific recommendations as to the governing body for a Freedom Academy

The CHAIRMAN. Further, before proceeding with the next outstanding witness, I would like to mention the fact that the Honorable Joseph S. Farland, U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic from 1957 to 1960, Ambassador to the Republic of Panama from 1960 to 1963, and former FBI agent, had hoped to testify in support of these proposals, and he had been scheduled to appear last week, May 7, but illness in his family prevented his attendance. Since then, business has taken him on a trip to Latin America, and therefore we will be denied the privilege of his views, because today marks the end of the hearings.

### STATEMENT OF THE ORDER OF LAFAYETTE

Finally, I will point out that the Order of Lafayette, at its recent convention in Washington on May 8, adopted a resolution urging the House and Senate to take affirmative action on the Freedom Academy bills, in their words "as a most important initial measure in a new

strategic plan for confronting Communist aggression in the cold war."

I understand that the resolution is being sent to us, and it will be incorporated in the record.

I might mention that the Order of Lafayette is made up of military officers who served in France in World Wars I and II.

(The resolution follows:)

*Whereas*, it is now clearly recognized that despite economic and military superiority during the past twenty years, close cooperation with the United Nations and the most immense foreign aid program in world history, the United States has deteriorated as a world power, due to massive failures in the nonmilitary area of political and propaganda warfare.

*Whereas*, it is now becoming increasingly clear that Communist officials are highly trained and dedicated Marxists whose consistent goal is domination of the free world by a master strategic plan and by effective political warfare; and that this has resulted in the successful training of 20,000 student subversives each year who return to their countries as effective Communist leaders to promote infiltration and subversion: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, by the Order of Lafayette in convention assembled, May 8, 1965, that the United States immediately initiate counter-measures to confront Communist aggression, infiltration and political take-over, by establishing a number of Freedom Academies to enable the citizens of the free world to develop the political skills necessary to preserve their freedom; and further be it

*Resolved*, that the Order of Lafayette recommends that the House of Representatives and the Senate take affirmative action on the Freedom Academy and Freedom Commission bills as a most important initial measure in a new strategic plan for confronting Communist aggression in the cold war.

The CHAIRMAN. And now we are privileged indeed to have with us the Honorable William C. Doherty, former U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica.

Mr. Doherty has been national president of the National Association of Letter Carriers and, more recently, vice president and a member of the executive council of the AFL-CIO.

Now, I personally point out that Bill is every ounce a good man, a good father, a good husband, and we can see he is not exactly a lightweight. There are a lot of pounds of goodness in Bill Doherty.

We are glad to have you, Bill, Mr. Ambassador. I understand that we called you on short notice and I don't know whether you have been able to whip up anything in formal shape, but, formally or informally or any other way, we would like to hear from you.

### STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM C. DOHERTY

Mr. DOHERTY. Mr. Chairman and Members of the distinguished Committee: At the outset I think I ought to make it crystal clear that I am not the Ambassador to whom the previous witness referred, although my service was in the diplomatic corps.

The CHAIRMAN. I could have said so myself. That part was off the record, but since we heard it, I am glad to have your remarks.

Mr. DOHERTY. I found the good doctor most interesting, and I want to say, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that I have had some personal knowledge of Project HOPE, and it pleases me no end to hear committee members praising the work of the good doctor. I only would that there were 10,000 ships in the good doctor's fleet.

They stopped in Jamaica while I was there, and it is a magnificent operation, almost akin, I think, to the Peace Corps itself and also, I think, akin to the good work that is being done by the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

These are real people-to-people programs that are so vitally necessary in this day and age.

As you know, my name is William C. Doherty, and I am appearing here today as a private citizen to testify in support of the Freedom Commission Act.

My background and experiences have led me to take a particular interest in the subject matter of this bill. For 21 years I was president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and I was active in both the AFL and later the AFL-CIO. I am at present a vice president emeritus of the latter organization.

In addition, I served from 1962 to 1964 as United States Ambassador to Jamaica. It was my honor to be the first American Ambassador to that nation after it received its independence from Britain.

With this background in both labor and foreign affairs, I have had occasion to observe the methods employed by Communists both in this country and abroad in their attempts to undermine free institutions and turn legitimate movements and innocent individuals into instruments for furthering their totalitarian purposes.

As is well known to the members of this committee, the Communists have over a period of 40 years developed and refined a number of political warfare techniques to a high level of effectiveness.

These techniques are taught to Communists from all over the world in a very extensive network of political schools within the Communist countries. The graduates of these schools then return to their own countries to staff Communist Party organizations and Communist-front groups.

They know how to write propaganda and how to reproduce and distribute it. They know how to couch their propaganda so as to appeal to various interests and attitudes among the target population.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are so right about that.

Mr. DOHERTY. Well, Mr. Chairman, I am glad you interrupted, because I wanted to make a brief reference, if I might digress, to tell of an experience some 20 years ago, during my short stay in Berlin.

At that time, in Berlin in 1945, as all of the members of the committee know, Berlin was operating under a quadripartite setup. All four governments were supposedly attempting to establish constituted authority in Berlin.

And even at that time, the Soviet was coming into the homes in Western Germany, and in Western Berlin in particular, and taking the heads of the house, fathers, anyone with skills, away, kidnaping them out of the Western sector of Berlin and bringing them into the Soviet, into the salt mines of Siberia, never again to be seen. And as a result, I went on Radio Berlin at that time, referring to this system of slave labor, for which some of the officials in our Government, the Office of Military Government for the United States, were at that time complaining, because I used the expression "slave labor." And what else was it, sir?

They were taking them out of their homes, bringing them into the Soviet Union and various places to use their skills in science and educational fields, and they never got back into their homes in West Berlin or in West Germany, and I had as my witness at that time the late Cardinal Von Preysing, with whom I conferred while I was visiting Berlin. I was over there on a special mission for the Presi-

dent of the United States, who had asked me to go there through the good offices of General Lucius Clay.

May I say that the Communists know how to utilize groups which have goals only partially compatible with communism in campaigns which actually further the overall Communist program.

For example, Communists often succeed in enlisting pacifists and democratic social reformers in movements which are actually aimed more at discrediting free governments and promoting Communist totalitarianism than at the limited and laudable goals to which they superficially appear to be directed.

Graduates of Communist political schools know how to organize groups, how to arrange demonstrations, and how to transmute a peaceful demonstration into forceful "mass action." They know how to use limited slogans to enlist peasants in guerrilla operations actually under Communist control.

Given favorable social and political conditions, such trained political experts can be effective out of all proportion to their numbers.

In stable societies, such conditions are absent, and Communist movements degenerate into pitiable cliques of cranks and misfits, as we have seen in the United States and several countries of Western Europe.

In the developing nations, however, which are going through the wrenching revolutions set off by the Western impact and the resulting drive for modernization, institutions are not stable, large groups feel that their interests are unrepresented, masses of people are confused and despairing, and here the conditions for effective political action by Communists trained in the appropriate techniques are all too frequently present.

In the years since World War II, and particularly in recent months and weeks, we have seen how dangerous Communist political efforts can be to the cause of democracy and pluralistic development in general, and to the national interests of the United States in particular.

Communist guerrilla and political action brought Mao Tse-tung to power in China. Adroit and energetic political action allowed the Communists to seize control of the democratic revolution which overthrew Batista in Cuba.

A few months ago, a rather small number of Communists trained in Cuba and elsewhere came very close to maneuvering Zanzibar into the Communist bloc, and the danger is by no means eliminated today.

Most recently, a fairly small number of Communist agents, taking advantage of a people deprived of political experience by 40 years of reactionary dictatorship, captured at least partial control of an initially democratic revolution in the Dominican Republic—and, mind you, I was just 90 miles from the Dominican Republic while I was stationed in Jamaica—making necessary the intervention of American troops to prevent the installation of a dictatorship of the left.

I want to say, at this point, that I commend President Johnson for his forthright action in stabilizing the chaotic situation in the Dominican Republic. His administration is taking a strong stand against communism in the Caribbean, just as he is in Vietnam, where the slightest sign of irresolution on the part of the United States could endanger the whole of Southeast Asia.

However, one cannot help but speculate as to what might have been done earlier to prevent situations such as those in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic from degenerating to the point that military action was required to stave off Communist threats.

Had freemen dedicated to the cause of democratic reform and development been as well organized, as energetic, and as well trained in basic political techniques as were the Communists, it would have been democratic groups which organized the peasantry in Vietnam and it would have been democratic forces which emerged as the focal point of action from the confused situation in the Dominican Republic.

Clearly, the free world must take steps to give those devoted to democratic action the training needed to overcome the threat of Communist activity.

Democrats must learn how to organize student groups, labor unions, women's clubs, political parties, and all the other organizations basic to effective political action. They must also learn the operating techniques of the Communists, so that freemen can anticipate what the Communists will do and use democratic action to defeat the Communists when they do begin to move.

The Freedom Academy offers one promising approach to this problem of training cadres for democratic political action. It would give a full-time staff the support needed to carry out research on Communist political techniques, on the curricula of Communist political schools, and on the use made by local Communist parties of graduates of these schools. It would also allow the development of ideas and procedures for combating Communist subversion and building up the many free organizations required for a pluralistic democracy capable of carrying through true social reforms.

The Freedom Academy could also instruct our diplomats, information experts, and aid advisers on Communist tactics in developing areas and on techniques which could be suggested to aid-receiving groups as probably effective in countering Communist challenges.

Finally, the Academy could train members of democratic groups in other countries, be they farm groups, labor unions, political parties, government bureaucracies, or other organizations, in the political skills needed to effectively achieve democratic social goals and remain impervious to Communist infiltration.

We in the American labor movement have considerable experience in these problems. The international department of the AFL-CIO constantly works in many ways to strengthen free, democratic labor unions throughout the world.

Since 1962, the American Institute for Free Labor Development has been working in Latin America to strengthen free unions and to bring social progress directly to their members.

This year, the Afro-American Labor Center opened in New York to undertake a related program in the countries of Africa.

I am convinced that our experience in the labor field shows that the type of research and training to be carried out by the proposed Freedom Academy will be very effective in building democratic institutions and opposing communism.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt one second?

Mr. DOHERTY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. In the conversation I had with you, I asked you at the time if you would talk about this work on the part of labor.

I happen to know the work of the organization formed by the AFL-CIO and its effectiveness, right south of us in the South and Central American Republics, where people from those areas come here, and they learn about our type of labor movement, and go back, and then try to inculcate in their country what a labor movement really means in a democratic society.

Mr. DOHERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad you brought up this point.

Mr. DOHERTY. Thank you for that fine observation.

If I am not considered to be presumptuous, I do believe that the American Institute for Free Labor Development has been the main strength in the whole Alliance for Progress. If you will go down to any country in Central or South America or into the Caribbean area where I served, you will find that the AIFLD is probably better known than the Alliance for Progress itself, and I know that is a broad statement, but I honestly feel that way about it.

Whereas our work is concerned with one specific type of institution, the Freedom Academy could operate on a broader basis and bring the benefits of democratic political training to a wider spectrum of organizations.

To look more closely at the relevant experience of the AIFLD, I should like to first describe its training program. Through local seminars in Latin America, through 3-month courses in resident centers in most capital cities, and through an additional course given at our school in Washington, D.C., young Latin American trade unionists are taught how to administer their unions, how to collect dues, how to prepare for responsible collective bargaining, how to detect Communist attempts at infiltration, and how to foil them should they occur.

To date over 20,000 young unionists—these are Latin Americans—have passed through one or another phase of this training.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask a question?

Mr. DOHERTY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. How is this financed? Is that Federal money, now, or from your own coffers?

Mr. DOHERTY. That is an excellent question. I am very happy to say that the major financing comes from the welfare funds of the trade unions.

In many of these larger unions, such as the Steelworkers, the Auto Workers, the Sheet Metal Workers, and the Electrical Workers, their welfare funds are bulging over with accumulated funds, and so this, then, gives an opportunity to use those moneys, not in violation of Landrum-Griffin or Taft-Hartley, but to use the moneys in the field of constructing homes and schools in these various countries throughout Central and South America.

In addition to the moneys that come from welfare funds, some of the largest industries in the United States, and our businesses, are putting funds into the AIFLD.

I might cite that one of the founders of the AIFLD was the late Eric Johnston, and even today we have men like Peter Grace of Grace Lines on the board of directors. He is a former chairman of the American Institute, and the illustrious American trade union leader, George

Meany, is also on the board of directors of the institute. So it is not a government-to-government proposition. It is a people-to-people proposition, where business and labor together in the United States of America have started this wonderful movement to combat communism and all other subversive activities south of our border.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I compliment the effort of labor and management in this project. I think it is a wonderful institution.

Mr. DOHERTY. Throughout Latin America these trainees are now moving into positions of increasing authority within their unions, often displacing previous Communist leadership in the process.

In addition to giving the trade union leaders a thorough grounding in democratic philosophy and skills, the AIFLD gives them a concrete social program designed to bring the Alliance for Progress directly to the workers, so that their tangible needs can be filled.

The AFL-CIO's member unions have earmarked \$67 million for lending to union housing projects in Latin America. Representatives of AIFLD's social projects department assist Latin American unions in setting up credit unions, housing cooperatives, workers' banks, and smaller self-help projects of community development.

In rural areas, AIFLD experts help agrarian unions to bring knowledge of better farming techniques to their members and to organize marketing and production co-ops to increase rural productivity and provide a better life for the peasant.

When programs such as these begin operating, they provide benefits now, that Communist agitators can only promise vaguely for the future, after a bloody and costly revolution.

Taken together, we believe AIFLD's training and social programs offer an effective approach to building free labor institutions and, in the process, defeating Communist attempts at subversion.

I gather that many of these same approaches would be taught in the courses of the Freedom Academy. And on the basis of our experience in the international field of free trade unionism, we feel such instruction will be of great benefit to the cause of freedom.

Mr. POOL. May I interrupt at this point?

Mr. DOHERTY. Yes, Congressman Pool.

Mr. POOL. I think that is a very good point, and I think that it is most important for the success of the Freedom Academy that labor is provided an opportunity to participate in this.

I think that probably the point is that the American people could do the most good internationally by showing that American labor is participating in this program.

Mr. DOHERTY. Well, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas.

It is for this reason that I support the bill now under consideration. I am referring, of course, to the bill introduced by the distinguished Congressman who testified here this morning, the Honorable Hale Boggs, of Louisiana.

I would like at this point to conclude by citing a few specific lessons which we have learned from our overseas labor work and which, I am sure, will be beneficial to the successful operation of the Freedom Academy.

First, the Academy must broadly represent all the main strands within the American political consensus. It can succeed only if it has



the full support of most major interest groups, most philosophical viewpoints, and both major parties. If it becomes the exclusive preserve of one clique or one viewpoint, it will never get the support needed to survive.

In the case of the AIFLD, its great strength is that it is supported not only by labor, but also by business; not only by liberals, but by virtually the whole sweep of United States political opinion and by both Republicans and Democrats.

The same must be true of the Freedom Academy. Without the full confidence of the public as a whole, the effort would be bound to fail.

I hope that in drafting the bill, machinery will be provided which will be sure to reflect the views of all major groups within the American consensus.

Second, in training foreigners, the Academy should work through existing democratic organizations in developing areas. To oppose communism, people must have an alternative program to which they are committed as strongly as Communists are to Marxism.

The foreign students selected should not be isolated individuals or "professional anti-Communists," but should be active members of democratic political parties, labor unions, youth groups, and other civil organizations.

It is only by working through the existing democratic union movement in Latin America, which is committed to a program of social progress, that the AIFLD and the AFL-CIO have had any real effectiveness. I feel sure that the same principle would apply to the Freedom Academy.

Third, the Academy should work to engage the United States private sector as much as possible in its efforts. This is because private efforts are less suspect abroad than the work of a Government agency. Such official agencies obviously are supposed to serve the immediate foreign policy interests of the state, whereas private groups can be presumed to have wider latitude.

The Academy should train American private citizens in how to set up union-to-union, farmer-to-farmer, university-to-university, and similar private relationships.

The knowledge of Communist techniques and democratic political skills could best be transmitted from the Academy to private United States groups, to their counterparts abroad, rather than directly from our Government to foreign nationals.

This private, institution-to-institution approach has proved its merit in the experiences of the AIFLD, AFL-CIO, Credit Union International, Four-H, and other private groups.

Finally, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, the graduates of the Academy must promote a philosophy of social reform and economic progress in keeping with our democratic ideals. The groups chosen must be forces for progress, with programs directly attacking real social ills.

While political skills and techniques are important, it is issues and programs and philosophy which win political campaigns, whether in a United States election or in a confused, cold war situation abroad. Political gimmicks will not win the cold war.

If the policy content of a group's program is not appealing, all the finely honed techniques and stratagems in the world cannot help it to match the social appeals of the Communists to a desperate population.

The real reason why American labor's efforts abroad have been successful is that we stand for a better deal for the worker. The political skills taught in our schools, and which will be taught in the Freedom Academy, are of value only as mechanisms to put across our social message. It is the content, not the form of politics, that counts.

I am confident that if these maxims are followed the proposed Freedom Academy will make a great contribution to the cause of democracy throughout the world. It is this potential that led me to come here today to support the bill, and I want to thank the committee very sincerely for having given me the opportunity to come here and express my views before such a distinguished and influential forum.

I will gladly answer any questions, Mr. Chairman, if I can.

The CHAIRMAN. We are deeply grateful to you, Mr. Ambassador, as you still retain that title, especially an ambassador of good will for this country abroad, and we are personally grateful to you for your contribution.

Now off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. I have no questions.

Mr. DOHERTY. May I say something on the record, Mr. Chairman?

I was very much interested in the question which Congressman Ichord posed to Dr. Walsh relative to our great senior statesman, Averell Harriman, in the incident that occurred last week. And from my point of view—and I can speak very freely as an American who has all the rights of free speech and expression—I think it was abominable.

Something is wrong somewhere when a spokesman, a top-level representative of the Government of the United States, can't speak freely, which is one of the basic tenets of democracies, before a student group. "Abominable" is the right word.

We all believe in freedom of speech. If colleges and universities—and I don't condemn them, of course, as such, because it isn't the whole faculty or student body—have forgotten that basic tenet we are in serious trouble. A Government representative, a senior statesman—being denied that privilege to me is abominable.

I wanted to get that off my chest.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman, I will join with you in thanking the gentleman for appearing and I want to make a comment that this is without a doubt, to my view, the best presentation that I have heard since I have been a member of this committee.

Mr. DOHERTY. Thank you, Congressman.

Mr. POOL. With the permission of the committee, I want to put it in the *Congressional Record*.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be done.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman?

I wanted, Mr. Chairman, to express my pleasure at seeing Mr. Doherty again. I doubt if there is any person who has more friends on the Hill than does Bill Doherty, and I want to commend you, sir, for a very informative and enlightening statement.

I join with my colleague from Texas in stating that I believe you really have gotten at the meat of the problem.

Witness after witness has come before this committee and has elaborated upon the gap, upon the deficiency which does exist, by pointing out that we are conversing with the leaders, but the Communists are getting to the people, or at least a hard core, enough of a hard-core activist group, where they are able to overthrow the existing government.

And I think what you have pointed out in your statement, what American labor is doing, and how it can be expanded, is one way to get to the people.

I commend you highly, sir, for your statement.

You are now vice president emeritus of AFL-CIO. Are you actually working with the AIFLD now?

Mr. DOHERTY. No; I am not on anyone's payroll. I am free and unencumbered. You might say that I am in a quasi-retirement capacity.

I resigned as the Ambassador to Jamaica last year to come back and meet some of my old friends here on Capital Hill, and enjoyed it tremendously, and am now enjoying my present status more than words can tell.

Let me thank you, Congressman, for your expressions. I am always happy to come back here and identify myself with anything that has to do with bettering conditions here in the United States of America, and as you probably suspect, I loathe communism. I am not one who looks under the bed every night before I retire to see if there is one there.

Mr. ICHORD. I agree with the gentleman there.

Mr. DOHERTY. But we have got to keep our eyes open all the time. I have been on the international committee of the old AFL, and the AFL-CIO, from 1945 on, more than 20 years' service on that committee, and it is something to keep watching.

We have got to be on the alert all the time, and that is one of the reasons I was prompted to come here this morning.

Thank you, again, very much.

Mr. ICHORD. I would join with the gentleman there. I have often said that one of the greatest problems that responsible people have in fighting communism is this hysteria fringe which tends to see a Communist behind every bush, and it makes it more difficult to really get down to the real battle of fighting communism and knowing how to fight it.

Mr. DOHERTY. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. I am very happy that our colleague from Texas is putting Mr. Doherty's statement in the *Record*. I think that it is excellent. As I indicated a while ago, this is a real analysis of the problem.

The CHAIRMAN. May I add just one thought?

I think one of the finest sentences of the statement is the one appearing on page 2: "They"—the Communists—"know how to utilize groups which have goals only partially compatible with communism in campaigns which actually further the overall Communist program."

And I think that is exactly what is in your mind, and has been in my mind all these years as a member of this committee. From this flows the utilization of front organizations. One of the Communists' major weapons is their ability to take a high-sounding name for an organiza-

tion and attract the unsuspecting and the otherwise good people to join and then just sell that line through those groups.

I think that is a beautiful sentence.

Mr. CLAWSON. I would just like to join with my colleagues, Mr. Ambassador. I appreciate the statement. I think it is a very fine one, and frankly, it has been my first opportunity to hear you, so, as a result, I am even more appreciative of the fact that your testimony is in this hearing record.

I think it will make a real contribution when the Academy has been established, because of the technical nature of your background and experience, things that should be done in the Academy, and how it should operate.

Mr. DOHERTY. Thank you, Congressman Clawson.

Mr. CLAWSON. I commend your view and thank you for being here with us. I am glad that I was a part of this committee this morning.

Mr. DOHERTY. Thank you. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, good luck, Bill.

Now, our final witness is Mr. Rufus C. Phillips III. Is he with us?

Mr. Phillips is president of Intercontinental Consultants, Inc., with offices in five countries. During the past 10 years, he has served as a United States Army officer in Korea, special adviser for psychological warfare with the United States military advisory group in Vietnam, planning officer, adviser on countersubversion in Laos and Vietnam, in both an official capacity with the Department of State and as a private expert.

We are very delighted to have you, sir, and I know you will give us very valuable information.

### STATEMENT OF RUFUS C. PHILLIPS III

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would like to say initially that Mr. Doherty has already said a good deal of what I planned today to say in a general sense——

The CHAIRMAN. Say it in your own words.

Mr. PHILLIPS. —so I won't repeat too much of what he said. I will try and talk, however, to my own personal experience, which includes about 6 years out in Southeast Asia, working mostly out at the grass- or rice-roots level, attempting to help local people combat communism and, at the same time, build a government and a political life for themselves that they would feel was worth risking their own lives to defend, and this is precisely, and has been precisely, the issue at stake in Southeast Asia now for many years.

I have also had some experience in Latin America, about 3 years as a private businessman, and I have had extensive conversations with Latin American friends of mine on the same subject.

More recently, I have spent almost a year in the Middle East and have found an astonishing similarity of problems and of attitudes on the part of many of the people in those countries in comparison with Asia and Latin America, and what they seek from the United States.

The kind of assistance they would like to have from us, and the kind of assistance to date that they have not been receiving, is, in particular, what I think that the Freedom Commission and the Free-

dom Academy bill will supply. It is something which has been lacking, almost completely lacking, in many countries, in the execution of our foreign policy.

I testify from personal experience, having been a member of the overall State Department setup. I was in the Agency for International Development, most recently as the assistant director for rural affairs and counterinsurgency in Vietnam, which was the entire AID program targeted at the rural area in an attempt to win the people away from communism.

I can testify that, in my opinion, most of our people serving abroad in the United States Government do not understand revolution, do not understand communism as an organizational weapon, even though they may understand the theory of it, and, for the most part, are not able to work effectively with local people in a team relationship wherein they help the local people to develop ideas and ways and means of effectively combating communism and building political institutions for themselves in which they believe and which they will support.

And, as I understand it—I have read all of the literature about it—I think that the proposed Freedom Academy would help supply this need.

We need to train Americans in how to deal with communism and how to assist people in foreign countries in opposing it. At the same time, we need to provide a facility for training those from abroad.

I can tell you a personal experience of mine, and a most recent one.

While I was in the Middle East, I made a friend who is a young Arab who comes from one of the countries there which has been in the midst of a revolution, has had about 20 coups since World War II, is still going through constant political turmoil, and is gradually drifting toward the left, closer and closer to the Communist bloc.

This person told me that if he and others at some time earlier had only had an opportunity to receive some training in the techniques of opposing communism and of building their own country along democratic lines, that he felt that the history of his country would not be the same as it is today.

And he said, "Even now, if there was some training in the United States that some of us who truly love our country could receive, we could put it to use, and I assure you that our country would not go Communist. But," he said, "I have gone to the American Embassy to some friends I have and presented them with this problem, and they say that there is no training like this available in the United States.

"I have been to the United States. I know something about your political institutions. I know that you have much to contribute, and there is much for us to learn that we could apply in our country. But," he said, "how can I do this? Where can I go? Who can I get to help me? We need this training and, if we could only get it, we could change the history of our country."

I can assure the committee that in many other countries this is also true. I know from my own personal experience in Southeast Asia that there have been occasions when people have approached me for this kind of training and there has been no place for them to go, no one that I could refer them to. Consequently, some of us have been con-

ducting, in effect, an on-the-job training program, if you will, in how to apply democratic techniques in this revolutionary situation in South-east Asia. And if we have had any success at all, it is because we have been able to speak to the local people on their own terms and to respond to their real problems. But we had to learn through experience—the hard way.

I have brought along with me here a statement from one of the nationalist leaders of South Vietnam, who is today a prominent adviser to the South Vietnamese Government. He wrote something in 1963, which was a paper addressed to his own people, about the political dilemma in Vietnam and what he felt was the way out.

And in this paper he had something very cogent to say about American aid and American assistance, and, mind you, this person is very friendly toward the United States.

I would like to read this, because I believe it applies precisely to the Freedom Academy proposal. It will illustrate to you how many Southeast Asians feel about the United States and what they seek from the United States. He says the following:

In short, in its aid to the under-developed world in the midst of a revolution for emancipation, the U.S. has never yet fought against the Communists with ideas of Freedom and of Justice but, at least until now, only with bombs and dollars. Instead of assuming the role of a leader, it has confined itself to that of a mere purveyor of means. \* \* \*

And I would like to go on and read another paragraph. He says:

With regard to the anti-Communist fight in general, the political solution consists of reinvigorating the Vietnamese anti-Communist movement, of a re-organization and a development of the Nationalists, and of reinforcing the anti-Communist motivation by an efficient national renovation based on democracy. By ignoring our revolution and the intranational aspect of our anti-Communist fight, the U.S. has jeopardized such a solution instead of helping work for it. As a high-ranking American official put it, "the anti-Communist fight in Vietnam is seventy-five percent political and twenty-five percent military." Yet, everything American is directed to the twenty-five percent and nothing to the seventy-five percent. \* \* \* The way out, to our mind, is not by an abandonment but, on the contrary, by going deep into every local revolutionary problem and helping solve them using principles of justice and freedom, and perhaps in fusing them with the revolutionary spirit of 1776 from which the United States herself was born and developed. \* \* \*

Now—and my personal belief is that the proposed Freedom Academy could help supply this—if we can infuse our own people who go abroad with the spirit of 1776, and if we can help infuse students who come from abroad with this spirit, along with knowledge of the techniques of a democratic revolution, this will indeed supply something that has been terribly lacking in the execution of our foreign policy.

Very frankly, had we been able to supply these things earlier in Vietnam, I assure you the course of history there would have been different.

I was there from 1954 to 1956, when indeed we did supply some of these things, and this is why Vietnam survived at that time.

One of the things that we did at that time was to bring potential Vietnamese leaders over to the Philippines, where they were able to see the revolution that the late President Magsaysay was carrying out there, when the Communist Huks in the Philippines were defeated precisely because Magsaysay was able to restore the faith of the Philippine people in their own government and in their own system of government.

Well, this is exactly what was needed in Vietnam—to establish a system of government in which the people could believe. We helped President Ngo Dinh Diem do this, and it was a good system. Unfortunately, we failed to provide any meaningful followup guidance and assistance, and the system eventually went sour. But initially, Vietnam survived because, quite frankly, there were Americans in Vietnam at the time of 1954 who were able to guide and advise and assist the Vietnamese in setting up a government and in holding together their country.

Mr. POOL. At this point, Mr. Chairman, could I interrupt?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. POOL. That is one of the reasons that the American Government had such a problem during the last year or two in Vietnam, attempting to set up a government, something for them to fight for.

That's what your testimony in fact said, to the effect that it is very important to have a democratic-type government, and not just a dictatorship or reestablish another dictatorship or something like that.

That is, in effect, what our problem is. Isn't that right?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is correct. And by establishing the right kind of government, you create a cause for which the people are willing to fight.

You can't do this by imposing something on them, but you can do it by working with them, as friends, to help bring these political things about. Frankly, because our people are not trained in politics and most of them, most of our people in the State Department and in AID, have had no political experience, they tend, without being unduly critical, to be bureaucratic in their outlook. This is not a bureaucratic problem, and one of the things that I would hope for is that, through a Freedom Academy, we could introduce many of our people in the State Department to actual practical political problems in the United States. I would like to say that I also concur completely with Mr. Doherty in that I feel that a great deal of participation from the private sector is essential if the Freedom Academy is to really respond to this type of problem. I would like to see as much private participation as possible.

I would also like to see that selected foreign nationals, who very often have quite acute observations to make about Americans and American institutions and how they can be applied in their own countries, should also have an opportunity to participate in an advisory role to this Commission and to the Freedom Academy.

My only reservation about the Freedom Academy is that it could become dominated too much by a bureaucratic outlook, that is to say, by the bureaucracy of the U.S. Government. If this happens, I don't think that the Academy will be effective, because unless it is able to operate semi-independently, unless it is able to establish connections with people abroad through private groups in the United States, a lot of the dynamism and a lot of the spirit of the thing will be lost. To be successful, this can't be an administrative, bureaucratic approach to things. It must be full of inspiration, and it must generate a genuine desire on the part of the people who attend it to go out and do concrete things for their country.

Unfortunately, this is not the spirit that comes through much of the training which is being given inside our Government today. There is too much, and I suppose this is natural, but there is too much empha-

sis on administration. I would like to say, also, that I do not believe that the proposed bill put forth by the State Department for the National Academy of Foreign Affairs would in any sense be adequate for this problem. It would merely be an expanded version of what is now being given, which is, I assure you, inadequate. I speak from personal experience, because, although I have not attended these courses, I have given lectures at them. If the Freedom Academy idea and programs are incorporated in a National Academy of Foreign Affairs, it will not produce what is needed. It will not respond to what is a tremendous need in our foreign policy, a critical need.

That's all I have to say, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for a very fine presentation.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank Mr. Phillips for appearing before the committee and giving us the benefit of his judgment and experience.

I think you might, by reason of your experience in Vietnam, enlighten me on a question which has bothered me. I can't understand how the Viet Cong have apparently successfully managed and utilized terror tactics on the one hand against the populace, and then with the other hand held out the sugar plum, so to speak.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Well, the Communists are quite selective in their terror tactics. You will find that, generally speaking, their direct terrorism is at people who are already fairly firmly committed to our side, and if they are dealing with a group of the population which is fairly neutral, then they will try to select out among that population as targets for their terror those who have some tendency to go against them. They make examples of these people.

In order to understand how the Communists are organized in South Vietnam, you really should go back a number of years, actually back to the war against the French, which the Communists took over. In fact, Ho Chi Minh, as far as many Vietnamese are concerned, is in essence the Benedict Arnold of Vietnam, because he was a traitor to what was initially a nationalist revolution. During the war against the French in South Vietnam, there were a number of areas where resistance developed against the French. The Communists took over this resistance movement, and historically, you have had in these areas families who have always been a part of the resistance movement. As the resistance was taken over by the Communists, many of these families continued as Communists.

Some left because of the Communist takeover of the resistance, but it has been on the basis of those families who remained in various areas that the Communists have been able to come back into South Vietnam and start out with an organizational base. Using this base, they expanded their organization through the family system. As you know, in Asia, and particularly in any culture which is influenced by the Chinese, the family is extremely strong. Consequently, the Communists, working through the family, initially recruit a man's brother, then his cousin, and so on, and this is how they have been able to spread their organization.

Now, gradually, of course, as they have grown stronger, their organization is no longer based on family ties, but this is really how it starts out.



When I was in Vietnam in 1954 and 1955, I was assigned as an adviser to the Vietnamese Army on what were then called pacification operations. The Vietnamese Army was sent out into two very large zones which the Communists had occupied, to reoccupy these zones and take them over for the national government. One of the things we found was that just before the zones were occupied by the national government, the Communists had ordered their troops, all the unmarried ones, to marry local girls, thereby immediately establishing family relationships.

Secondly, they kidnaped as many young men as they could from these areas, from the ages of about 10 to 16, and they took them up north for training.

This meant that all of the relatives of those young men were automatically involved in the movement. These young men were trained up north and sent back into the south, in 1958, 1959, and 1960, and some are still coming back. They, in turn, contacted their relatives upon their return to the south, which gave them a base. And then from that base they began to expand, using precisely the method of selective terror, of attempting to single out and eliminate those people who were supporting the government, and also to cow the majority into submission.

Mr. ICHORD. They only use the terror tactics when they are in a position of strength, then?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No; they started out initially with terror tactics. Their objective was to eliminate all government authority at the lowest level, that is, at the hamlet and village level. Consequently in 1959 and 1960, they assassinated some 4,000 to 5,000 local government officials. This immediately created a vacuum, a political and administrative vacuum, in the rural areas into which they moved.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLAWSON. I don't have any questions.

I want to thank Mr. Phillips for being here. I think your background of experience certainly served its purpose, by the evidence, the testimony that you provided for us.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you very much, sir.

I would like to say that I wholeheartedly support this bill, and I certainly hope it passes. It has been long overdue.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

### CLOSING STATEMENT OF HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

Mr. WILLIS. The Chair wishes to say that recently I had occasion to examine the December 1964 issue of *Free China & Asia*, which is the official publication of the Republic of China unit of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, an organization established by the free governments and peoples of Asia shortly after the cessation of hostilities in Korea in order to promote freedom and oppose the spread of communism on that continent.

This magazine contains some of the major speeches delivered at the 10th Conference of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, which was held in Taipei, Formosa, in November 1964, and also messages sent to the conference and resolutions adopted by it. Before commenting on one of those resolutions, I would like to state a few facts

about the conference referred to so that those not familiar with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League will have some understanding of its significance and influence.

Forty-seven units representing both member nations of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and observers attended its 10th Conference on Formosa. They came from many parts of the world. Among the delegates were the former President of Lebanon, 3 former or incumbent Speakers of Parliaments, 2 former Premiers, 7 former Ministers, 2 former Ambassadors, 23 incumbent Members of Parliaments, 7 political party leaders, and 3 mayors or Governors. In addition, there were college presidents, professors, industrial leaders, and political commentators. More than 60 messages from anti-Communist leaders in various nations were received, including messages from the Presidents of the Philippines, the Republic of Vietnam, and the Republic of Korea.

Obviously, this organization and its proceedings warrant our attention and consideration, and I would like to read into the record at this point the text of one of the resolutions adopted at the conference:

#### RESOLUTION SUPPORTING OPERATION OF THE APACL FREEDOM CENTER

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League:

Recalling by previous League Conferences resolutions on the establishment of the APACL Freedom Center, on the acceleration of preparatory work for the APACL Freedom Center, and on finalizing the establishment of the APACL Freedom Center and its operation;

Having received with appreciation the report on the progress of the preparatory work for the APACL Freedom Center submitted by the Korean delegation;

In hearty appreciation of the unsparing support on the part of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, as well as the wholehearted support from the APACL member units and observers and other freedom-loving peoples which have enabled the APACL Freedom Center Preparatory Commission to carry out preparations for the Center despite various difficulties, and especially for the positive support on the part of the U.S. Congress evidenced by the speech delivered by Rep. Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on October 2, 1964, in the House of Representatives; and

Recognizing the fact that operation of the APACL Freedom Center is in the common interest of League member units and observers in the defeat of Communist infiltration and indirect aggression and the preservation of freedom and democracy;

#### *Resolves:*

(1) To urge each member-unit and observer to make every effort to implement the previous resolutions of the League in supporting the establishment and operation of the APACL Freedom Center;

(2) To ask each member-unit and observer to extend further moral support and financial assistance to the APACL Freedom Center;

(3) To publicize the prospectus of the APACL Freedom Center so as to insure enthusiastic support of the free world;

(4) To express appreciation to the U.S. House of Representatives for its positive support and encouragement and to urge for further assistance from the United States so that the Freedom Center may do its full part in promoting the interests, values, and welfare of the free world.

That's the end of the resolution.

Now, what is the APACL Freedom Center referred to in this resolution?

It is a cold war educational institution actually operating on a limited scale in Seoul, South Korea. It is patterned after the U.S. Freedom Academy concept. It came into being largely as a result

of the Freedom Academy bills introduced in our Congress some years back.

Just a few weeks ago, Senator Thomas Dodd, another of the leading congressional exponents of a Freedom Academy, made a trip to Asia. One of his purposes in doing so was to help launch in South Korea a local fund-raising drive to provide for a 2-year postgraduate course of study at this Freedom Center for students from all countries in Asia.

John Chamberlain, in a recent column devoted to the Freedom Center, mentioned Senator Dodd's trip and wrote as follows concerning the projected course :

When this course gets going, students from all over the free areas of East Asia will be coming to Seoul for graduate work in international politics, psychological warfare, economic warfare, Communist ideology, Western philosophy, and the culture of the Orient as it relates to man's need for freedom. \* \* \*

The resolution on the Freedom Center which I read a few minutes ago made reference to a speech in support of the Freedom Center made on the floor of the House last October 2 by our distinguished colleague, Representative Dante B. Fascell, chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. I would like to submit the text of Mr. Fascell's speech for inclusion in our hearing record at this point.

(Mr. Fascell's remarks follow :)

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THE FREEDOM CENTER IN SEOUL,  
KOREA

(Mr. FASCELL (at the request of Mr. MARSH) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I am taking the floor this morning to call to the attention of the House a project of singular importance, undertaken recently by the Asian People's Anti-Communist League.

I am referring to the Freedom Center currently under construction in Seoul, Korea. This unique project is designed to give the citizens of the free nations both the opportunity and the means for developing effective strategy and tactics for combating the Communist threat.

In brief, the Freedom Center will be a research and training institution designed to produce cold war operational knowledge and to train leadership groups which, in the words of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, will be able to "outplan, outthink, outorganize, and outdedicate the Communists."

In the center, students and leaders alike will be able to study such subjects as how to organize a democratic political party or labor union, how to draw up and execute effective social reforms, how to counter Communist propaganda and the tactics of Communist political agitators, and many others.

A publication issued by the Asian People's Anti-Communist League describes the main functions to be carried out by the Freedom Center, as follows:

First, to initiate and carry on a research program designed to develop an integrated, operational science that will demonstrate logically the errors and contradictions of the Communist ideology, thereby contributing to better understanding of the values of freedom.

Second, to initiate and develop effective strategy and tactics through which citizens of the free world will be able to meet and to defeat the Communist conspiracy.

Third, to educate and train anti-Communist leaders and cadres of the league's member units in all aspects of the international Communist movement, and in ways and means to be employed to meet and defeat Communist attempts at subversion.

Fourth, to initiate and develop a program for exposing and frustrating Communist propaganda, and for propagating the gospels of freedom.

Fifth, to perform other functions required to carry out the objectives of the center.

This is indeed an ambitious program. When implemented, it should have far-reaching implications for the cause of freedom not only in Asia but throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, this great project was initiated at the Second Extraordinary Conference of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, held in Seoul, Korea, in May 1962. Four months later, construction commenced on a 50-acre plot of land donated by the Government of the Republic of Korea. Simultaneously, a fundraising campaign was initiated by the League. By May of this year, approximately \$1.3 million was raised through this campaign—one-half of the total needed for the project. Most of this money was raised in Korea—through government contributions and private donations—but the project also received some help from supporters in other countries.

Mr. Speaker, I wish that all Members of the House could see the plans for the Freedom Center, and photographs taken recently which show construction progress achieved to date. From the standpoint of size and design, this is a very impressive project. The framework of the 17-story International Freedom House, which will symbolize the 17 nations which fought for the defense of Korea under the United Nations flag, is completed through the 12th floor. The framework of the main building is finished. Only the international conference hall, the third principal building planned for the center, is still on the drawing board. I understand that additional funds will have to be raised before construction of this building can begin.

Mr. Speaker, the Freedom Center in Seoul, Korea demonstrates what can be accomplished through private initiative to advance the cause of freedom in the cold war. The entire concept of this center reflects clear recognition of the fact that the struggle which goes on in the world today will be resolved ultimately in the minds of men. In this

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struggle, words, ideas and personal dedication to the cause of freedom, are as important as tanks and guns. As a matter of fact, the ideological elements may prove decisive to the resolution of the cold war conflict.

This very subject has deeply concerned a subcommittee which I have the honor to chair—the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. For 18 months now, my subcommittee has been studying the U.S. ideological effort in the cold war. We have looked at numerous government programs and published an inventory of U.S. Government activities in this dimension of our foreign policy.

In addition, however, we have begun to study the significance of the private effort on this plane. To date, as shown in the eight volumes of hearings and the two reports published by my subcommittee, we have made considerable progress. But our job is not over, and we are continuing with our undertaking.

Mr. Speaker, the members of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, and the people of South Korea as a whole, are to be congratulated on undertaking the establishment of the freedom center. I am confident that the value of this project, and its impact, will continue to grow.

I also want to take this opportunity

to extend my congratulations to a very active and eloquent supporter of the freedom center whom I have met personally—Dr. Chin Kim. Dr. Kim has been staying in Washington on a fellowship, studying the operations of our Congress. We had frequent discussions about the freedom center and other issues of mutual interest. I have enjoyed these exchanges of views and found them stimulating.

I may add that Dr. Kim is no stranger to the United States. Trained at the University of Korea, he also studied at Florida Southern College, George Washington University Law School, and Yale Law School. After receiving two advanced degrees from the latter institution, he returned to his homeland and began teaching at the Seoul National University and the Korea University. Since March 1962 he has served as associate dean of the Graduate School of Law of Seoul National University.

In addition he has performed public service in his country by serving as member of two Board of Appeals of the Veterans' Administration, and as member of the Commission on Studies of Legislation of the Republic of Korea.

I was delighted to have had the opportunity to know Dr. Kim. And I congratulate him again on the Asian People's Anti-Communist League's Freedom Center in Seoul, Korea.

The CHAIRMAN. The existence of the APACL Freedom Center in South Korea is a challenge to Congress and the people of the United States. The countries and organizations in Asia which have made this Center possible do not have our great material wealth or educational facilities. Yet, they have acted on what I believe—after listening to extended expert testimony before this committee—is a very sound concept. They have put that concept into effect. They have made it a reality.

It is my hope that the U.S. Congress will do the same, with the support of the American people. And that support, I might add, clearly exists. A Gallup Poll, which was made a part of our hearing record last year, revealed that 69 percent of the adults in this country supported the idea of the Freedom Academy and only 14 percent opposed it—and that constitutes a very large margin in our political system.

Finally, before concluding these hearings I would like to make a few more remarks and insert some additional material in the record.

In 1962 the National Governors' Conference—composed, as we all know, of the Governors of our 50 States—set up a Committee on Cold War Education. This committee, in addition to other activities, has sponsored a number of educational conferences on the subject of communism.

I had the honor of addressing its 4-day conference on cold war education held in Tampa, Florida, in June of 1963. Hundreds of students took part in this conference, which brought together over 70 top authorities from all over the country to give lectures and engage in discussions designed to assist the Committee on Cold War Education of the National Governors' Conference.

Last December, in Miami, the committee held a 12-day school on cold war education for aides to the Governors of our States. In the few years of its existence, the Governors' Conference committee has made a truly outstanding contribution to the subject of cold war education. In 1963 and 1964 it issued two very valuable reports on the subject—reports which contain material that is most pertinent to the purposes of the Freedom Academy bills.

Cold war education, basically, is the principal function of the proposed Freedom Academy. In its 1963 report, the National Governors' Conference committee gave the following definition of cold war education:

Cold War Education is the development of knowledge essential to the understanding of America's heritage of freedom, and of the nature of the attacks upon that freedom, open and covert, by the followers of International Communism.

\* \* \* \* \*

Cold War Education differs from indoctrination in that it follows no party line requiring blind adherence and unwavering obedience. It depends upon, and seeks to stimulate, the mind, the imagination, the knowledge, and the spirit of the individual in the belief that these are America's greatest resources in the bitter conflict called Cold War. \* \* \*

The appendix to the 1963 report has been both widely distributed and widely proclaimed in this country. It is entitled "Why Cold War Education." I have read and studied this statement. I believe it is excellent and would like at this point to enter the text of it in the record of these hearings.

(The document follows:)

### Why Cold War Education

America—as a nation and as a system of government—is the most successful of all experiments in freedom.

Individual citizens, working together as free men, have prospered, and have built the greatest nation the world has ever known. Freedom has been held so dear by Americans that they have always been willing and proud to defend it against all challenges.

Today the nation faces the greatest challenge ever made to its freedom.

The challenge comes from the Communist war to win total world domination. The Communist bloc is totally dedicated to the defeat of all free nations. With the Soviet Union as the power base, the Communist apparatus has advanced in deadly earnest since the end of World War II until today more than one-third of the world's population, more than a billion people, have become slaves to Communist dictatorship.

*The advances of Communism have introduced new concepts of warfare to which the American people must become accustomed and adapt their defenses.*

In a shooting war it is very clear what must be done. Americans have always risen readily to the challenges of such an attack, and willingly sacrificed their comforts, and even their lives, to assure victory and the perpetuation of freedom. Until the shooting starts, however, free and trusting Americans abound with good will toward all mankind, and are characteristically unable to accept that others may be working vigorously for the demolition of their way of life.

Although Hitler spelled out his global objectives in **Mein Kampf**, few Americans understood the reality of his war until the actual shooting started.

Like Hitler, the Communists have embarked upon a program of world conquest. Like Hitler, they have announced their plans, and have reiterated them many times in many forums. The war being waged by Communism is called the Cold War. Many Americans fail to accept the reality of this war because there is comparatively little shooting.

*The Cold War of Communism far outshadows any creation of the Third Reich. It is the broadest, most effective political warfare ever conducted in the history of mankind. Its aim is to conquer the rest of the free world by use of diplomatic proposals, economic sorties, propaganda, intimidation, sabotage, terrorism, support of revolutionaries in now-free countries, and by driving wedges between the free-world allies.*

These multi-pronged thrusts are made against a background of diversions in which the threat of military force is alternated with strident demands for disarmament, and equally strident opposition to inspection and control procedures to make disarmament meaningful.

Communist political warfare, as conceived by Lenin and Stalin, and practiced by Khrushchev, is keyed to the systematic penetration of a country—the infiltration of strategic unions, communications media, government agencies, associations and other private institutions and groups for the destruction of moral fiber, the confusion of national purpose, and the creation of misinformation and misunderstanding among the individual citizens.

As part of their political warfare, the Communists would have us believe that the only contest is between ideologies—that the appeal of Communism has been the key to their expanding influence. Like magicians they would have us look at the wrong hand—the hand called ideology.

*The hand with the dagger is called political warfare.*

Arguing the merits of the Communist philosophy offers no more protection from political warfare than arguing the merits of Hitler's national socialism would have stayed his armies. The enslaved Eastern European peoples did not fall to the appeal of Communism. They fell to political warfare backed by Soviet Armies. It was not the appeal of Communism that returned the Hungarians to the Communist yoke. It was not the appeal of Communism that enslaved the peoples of China and Cuba. It was the practice of political warfare.

Ideology must be studied and understood as a part of the Cold War Education. But the study and understanding should come within the frame of reference used by today's Communist leaders, and given the recognition due it as an element of all-out political warfare.

*The only real obstacle standing today between Communism and world dictatorship is a strong United States, determined to use its strength in freedom's cause.*

The Communists know better than many individual American citizens that the national power of the United States will be used in meeting the multiple challenges of Communism to the extent that citizens, acting through their elected representatives, urge or endorse effective action. In a free society, government serves the private citizen, and is ultimately responsible to the composite will of all its citizens. The essential difference between a dictatorship and a democracy is that in one the citizens follow the will of the government, and in the other, the government follows the will of its citizens.

The prosperity and progress of America has come dangerously close to erasing from the national scene a proper concept of the responsibilities and duties of citizenship. We count our telephones and televisions, we rate ourselves by the cost of our cars and the cut of our clothes. Our material progress, which may be duplicated by other societies, has become a yardstick—a false yardstick—of Americanism.

The basic American heritage is the right to live in freedom.



Freedom, though, is neither automatic nor conferred by the happenstance of birth or geography. Freedom must be earned again by each succeeding generation through the sound exercise of its citizenship responsibilities. Every American citizen has the duty to inform himself on important issues so that he might better exercise his right to be heard, his right to vote, his right to freedom.

Too often by a desire to sidestep conflict, or simply because of laziness, many American citizens ignore the rights and are too timid to assume the responsibilities of their citizenship. They abdicate their role in democracy with a shrug or the explanation that "the government knows more about this than I do, so why should I be concerned?"

*For democracy to work, the individual citizen must face up to major issues of the day, inform himself and express himself in an aroused and concerned exercise of those acts of citizenship unique to our democratic system.*

In the Cold War, the front is everywhere. All levels and segments of society are involved. Since, in a free society, government does not control all segments of society, the citizens' responsibility is far greater than in other types of war. In addition to his responsibility to help shape governmental actions, he himself is on the front line, and must fight independent of, but in cooperation with, his government. Private individuals, organizations and institutions must fill the gap between what government can do, and what must be done.

If he is to be effective, cold war education for the individual citizen must include:

1. Understanding what he is fighting for. He must understand the basic foundations of American strength and freedom, and why freedom is worth fighting for.
2. Understanding that the Communist bloc is waging a very real war against the free nations. He must fully understand the nature and extent of this war and of Communist objectives.
3. Understanding that he, himself, must determine how he can be most effective as a free citizen in defeating the Communist attack upon his freedom. It is his life and his liberty that are in jeopardy.

In the search for Cold War understanding, individual initiative and judgment play a vital role, and must be fostered. Each citizen must use his own judgment and reach his own conclusions as to the truth and soundness of statements by others. Blind acceptance of the positions of others, regardless of position or personality, plays into the hands of the aggressor.

The Cold War is a real and deadly struggle from which only one side will emerge victorious. It is the duty of each citizen to utilize his rights of citizenship to become a discerning Cold War warrior himself, and to encourage others to do likewise.

The CHAIRMAN. I would also like to quote here an excerpt from the introduction to the 1964 report of the National Governors' Conference Committee on Cold War Education. It states:

This Committee was an outgrowth of the Governors' firm conviction that the minds of men are the most vital weapon in the arsenal of freedom, and that knowledge and understanding transcend the might of rockets and the power of the neutron as a tool to be wisely used in the search for peace.

The involvement in this manner by the Governors was predicated on the recognition that the Cold War is a very real war which is being waged in ways and on fronts that strike more directly at the foundations of American freedoms than all of the bombs and bullets that have echoed through the Nation's history. \* \* \*

Many outstanding witnesses have appeared before this committee in the course of these hearings—former Ambassadors and Foreign Service officers, professors and scholars who are recognized throughout the world as authorities on communism, Members of the House and Senate, representatives of labor, the press, former high-ranking military officers, to name just a few. All have given their explicit support to the Freedom Academy. But the statement which I have just quoted must, I believe, also be accepted as a strong endorsement, even though only implicit, of the Freedom Academy by a committee which speaks for the Governors of 50 States. What we are really dealing with in the Freedom Academy idea is an effort to go beyond conventional warfare and diplomacy, beyond guns and dollars, and to put the minds of men to work in the struggle against communism—the minds of our Government officials, our leaders in civilian life, and also civilian and governmental leaders in foreign countries. As the Governors' committee stated, “the minds of men are the most vital weapon in the arsenal of freedom,” and they “transcend the might of rockets and the power of the neutron.” I believe this is unquestionably true and that, because it is true, it is time for us to make every effort to really put those minds to work by giving them the comprehensive knowledge of Communist-style warfare which they must have to function at full capacity.

The same quotation also stresses another major point involved in these hearings when it says that the cold war is a very real war being waged in ways and on fronts “that strike more directly at the foundations of American freedoms than all of the bombs and bullets that have echoed through the Nation's history.”

Here again they go right to the point of the Freedom Academy—the devising of means to defeat the Communists on these unconventional fronts which can be more dangerous to our Nation and the cause of freedom everywhere than the traditional military fronts.

The Governors' Conference committee notes our major cold war weakness—and the one the Freedom Academy is primarily designed to correct—when it states:

Despite more than a decade of discussion and the use of real and imagined threats of Communist influence or involvement in nearly every major national and international issue discussed by the American people, there exists today very little real grassroots understanding of the nature of Communism or the application of its theory by the totalitarian dictators based in Moscow and Peking.

This lack of understanding has been recognized by academicians and educational administrators throughout the Nation. \* \* \*

The Governors are realistic in their report. They feel confident that the work their Committee on Cold War Education has done to overcome this weakness by sponsoring national strategy seminars, conferences on cold war education, and other activities has helped, but they realize the battle is not yet won and that more work has to be done. Their work, they say—

is not likely to change the course of history, or win peace for the world tomorrow, but we are firmly convinced that it can lead to the sort of bold new programs and the enlightened citizen support that *can* change the course of history and strike vital blows for peace. It *can* assure that the great body of public opinion on pressing issues will not be shaped by either extremists or opportunists, and it carries the promise that no ideological battles will be defaulted to the Communists by ignorance or naivete in America.

More than any other instrument, the Freedom Academy should be able to complete and bring to fruition the vital work begun by the National Governors' Conference through its Committee on Cold War Education. It should be able—in time—to drastically change the course of history, strengthening freedom in all parts of the world, just as the Communist schools of political warfare have played a major role in making history during the past 40-or-so years. The difference will be that, while the Communist political warfare schools have been designed to teach men how to destroy and subvert in the interest of an ideology which constitutes the blackest form of reaction, the Freedom Academy will have the positive purpose of strengthening freedom and spreading it to all parts of the globe, including, ultimately, those nations today enslaved by Communist totalitarianism.

If the Freedom Academy is established—as I hope it will be—it will not end the need for continued effort on the part of the National Governors' Conference. Rather, the two will be able to supplement and aid one another, and this I hope they will do. And the same applies, of course, to all groups, organizations, and institutions which are contributing in any way—large or small, at home or abroad—to the fight for freedom, which is also the fight for peace. We are all in this together, and all should unite and cooperate in finding the best way to spread thorough knowledge and understanding of our enemy and his stratagems and also the best methods of defeating them in order that freedom may be preserved.

Communism is tyranny, and tyranny promotes war. Communism is, therefore, the enemy of peace, and there can be no real peace until it is destroyed.

The authors of the concept embodied in the bills the committee has been studying have decided to call the institution these bills would create the Freedom Academy. It would be truly that, because it is designed to assist in the defeat of totalitarian and tyrannical communism—the major enemy of freedom in today's world. But this Academy could also be called the Peace Academy, because freedom is the friend and promoter of peace, just as tyranny and communism are its enemies. The motto of the Academy could well be "To Peace Through Freedom."

Mr. CLAWSON. Mr. Chairman, would the chairman yield?

Did they make any recommendations on the bills?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes. That is in the statements.

This concludes our hearings on these bills.

If I recall, a while ago I indicated that an organization was sending down a formal resolution of endorsement, the Order of Lafayette, I think. So for that and other purposes, let it be understood that the record will remain open for filing of statements for a period of 10 days and that statements, if and as received, will of course be screened by our staff for inclusion in the record.<sup>1</sup>

Do you have anything to add?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question, but it can be off the record when we complete the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. That is all.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., Friday, May 14, 1965, the committee adjourned sine die.)

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 232, 233 for resolution of Order of Lafayette.

## APPENDIX

### PROPOSED BILLS FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY

89TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2379

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 12, 1965

Mr. Boggs introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities

*[H.R. 4389, introduced by Mr. Gurney February 4, 1965, is identical to H.R. 2379.]*

*[H.R. 2215, introduced by Mr. Ichord January 11, 1965, is identical to H.R. 2379, with the following exceptions: (1) Sec. 5 of H.R. 2215 fixes salary of Chairman of Freedom Commission at \$28,500, and that of each member at \$26,000, per annum; (2) sec. 8 of H.R. 2215, which makes provision for an information center, deletes to "publish textbooks" and in place thereof substitutes the words "publish educational materials"; (3) sec. 11(a) of H.R. 2215, which deals with the general authority of the Commission, omits paragraph (1) of H.R. 2379; (4) H.R. 2215 deletes from sec. 11(b), relating to pay of personnel, the words "(except such personnel whose compensation is fixed by law, and specially qualified professional personnel up to a limit of \$19,000)"; and (5) H.R. 2215 in sec. 12 fixes salary of General Manager at a sum not to exceed \$26,000 per annum.]*

*[H.R. 5370, introduced by Mr. Clausen February 24, 1965, is identical to H.R. 2379, with the following exceptions: (1) Sec. 11(a) of H.R. 5370, which deals with the general authority of Commission, omits paragraph (1) of H.R. 2379; and (2) adds the word "procedural," in sec. 13(e), to precede the words "rules and regulations," etc.]*

*[H.R. 6700, introduced by Mr. Buchanan March 24, 1965, is identical to H.R. 2379, with the following exceptions: (1) Sec. 5 of H.R. 6700 fixes no limitation upon the salaries to be paid to the Chairman and members of the Freedom Commission; (2) sec. 11(a) (11) of H.R. 6700 fixes no limitation as to the amount of per diem pay for temporary employees; (3) sec. 11(b) of H.R. 6700 fixes no upper limit for compensation to personnel, and entirely excepts the employment and pay of personnel from the operation of the civil service laws and Classification Act of 1949; and (4) sec. 12 of H.R. 6700 employs the term "Administrator" for "general manager," and fixes no limitation on compensation. (The bill, H.R. 6700, as to pay of employees and officers, provides simply that they shall be paid at rates "fixed by the Congress.")]*

*[H.R. 470, introduced by Mr. Herlong January 4, 1965, is similar but not identical to H.R. 2379. It is to be noted that sec. 7 of H.R. 470, unlike sec. 7 of H.R. 2379, limits financial assistance to dependents of students "who are nationals of the United States."]¹*

## A BILL

To create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy, to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge<sup>1</sup> in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the non-military capabilities of the United States in the global struggle between freedom and communism, to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge, and also to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

<sup>1</sup>H.R. 9209, introduced by Mr. Feighan June 17, 1965, after completion of the committee hearings is substantially the same as H.R. 2379.

2       SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the “Freedom  
3   Commission Act”.

5        SEC. 2. (a) The Congress of the United States makes  
6 the following findings and statement of policy:

7 (1) The United States in preparing to defend its  
8 national interests in coming years faces grave and complex  
9 problems in the nonmilitary as well as military areas.

(2) First and foremost are the problems raised by the unremitting drives by the Soviet Union and Communist China seeking world domination and the destruction of all non-Communist societies. The Communist bloc and the various Communist parties have systematically prepared themselves to wage a thousand-pronged aggression in the nonmilitary area. Drawing on their elaborate studies and extensive pragmatic tests, Communist leaders have developed their conspiratorial version of nonmilitary conflict into an advanced, operational art in which they employ and orchestrate an extraordinary variety of conflict instruments in the political, psychological, ideological, economic, technological, organizational and paramilitary areas enabling them to approach their immediate and long-range objectives along many paths. This creates unique and unprecedented problems for the United States in a conflict that is being waged

## 3

1 in student organizations, peasant villages, labor unions, mass  
2 communication systems, in city and jungle, and institutions  
3 and organizations of every description, as well as in the  
4 world's chancelleries. Recognizing that nonmilitary conflict  
5 makes extraordinary demands upon its practitioners, the  
6 Communists, for several decades, have intensively trained  
7 their leadership groups and cadres in an extensive network of  
8 basic, intermediate, and advanced schools. The Sino-Soviet  
9 conflict capacity has been immeasurably increased by the  
10 mobilization of research, science, industry, technology, and  
11 education to serve the power-seeking ambitions of Com-  
12 munist leaders rather than the needs of their people.

13 (3) Second, the problems of the United States are  
14 complicated by the emergence of many new nations, the  
15 unstable or deteriorating political, social and economic con-  
16 ditions in many parts of the world, the revolutionary forces  
17 released by the rising expectations of the world's people,  
18 and other factors, all of which increase the difficulties of  
19 achieving our national objectives of preventing Communist  
20 penetration while seeking to build viable, free, and inde-  
21 pendent nations.

22 (4) The nature of the Sino-Soviet power drive, the  
23 revolutionary and fluid world situation, the emergence of  
24 the United States as the major leader of the free world and  
25 the need to deal with the people of nations as well as govern-

## 4

1 ments, has compelled the United States to employ many new  
2 instruments under the headings of traditional diplomacy,  
3 intelligence, technical assistance, aid programs, trade devel-  
4 opment, educational exchange, cultural exchange, and  
5 counterinsurgency (as well as in the area of related military  
6 programs). To interrelate and program these present in-  
7 struments over long periods already requires a high degree  
8 of professional competence in many specialties, as well as  
9 great managerial skill.

10 (5) However, the United States has fallen short in  
11 developing and utilizing its full capacity to achieve its objec-  
12 tives in the world struggle. Not only do we need to improve  
13 the existing instruments, but a wide range of additional  
14 methods and means in both the Government and private  
15 sectors must be worked out and integrated with the existing  
16 instruments of our policy. Otherwise, the United States will  
17 lack the means to defeat many forms of Communist aggres-  
18 sion and to extend the area of freedom, national independ-  
19 ence, and self-government, as well as to attain other national  
20 objectives. However, this will require an intensive and  
21 comprehensive research and training effort first to think  
22 through these additional methods and means, and, second, to  
23 educate and train not only specialists, but also leaders at  
24 several levels who can visualize and organize these many  
25 instruments in an integrated strategy, enabling the United



## 5

1 States to approach its national objectives along every path  
2 in accord with our ethic.

3 (6) There has been a tendency to look upon strategy as  
4 a series of discrete problems with planning often restricted  
5 by jurisdictional walls and parochial attitudes and too much  
6 piecemeal planning to handle emergencies at the expense  
7 of systematic, long-range development and programing  
8 of the many instruments potentially available to us. While  
9 there has been marked improvement in such things as  
10 language training at agency schools, and while university  
11 centers have made significant progress in area studies,  
12 nowhere has the United States established a training pro-  
13 gram to develop rounded strategists in the nonmilitary area  
14 or even certain vital categories of professional specialists,  
15 particularly in the area of political, ideological, psycholog-  
16 ical, and organizational operations and in certain areas of  
17 development work. Nor has the United States organized  
18 a research program which can be expected to think through  
19 the important additional range of methods and means that  
20 could be available to us in the Government and private  
21 sectors.

22 (7) In implementing this legislation the following re-  
23 quirements for developing our national capacity for global  
24 operations in the nonmilitary area should receive special  
25 attention:

## 6

1        I. At the upper levels of Government, the United States  
2 must have rounded strategists with intensive interdepart-  
3 mental training and experience who understand the range of  
4 instruments potentially available to us and who can or-  
5 ganize and program these instruments over long periods in  
6 an integrated, forward strategy that systematically develops  
7 and utilizes our full national capacity for the global struggle.

8        II. Below them, Government personnel must be trained  
9 to understand and implement this integrated strategy in all  
10 of its dimensions. Through intensive training, as well as  
11 experience, we must seek the highest professional compe-  
12 tence in those areas of specialized knowledge required by  
13 our global operations. Government personnel should have  
14 an underlying level of understanding as to the nature of the  
15 global conflict, the goals of the United States, and the vari-  
16 ous possible instruments in achieving these goals to facilitate  
17 team operations. We should seek to instill a high degree  
18 of elan and dedication.

19        III. Foreign affairs personnel at all levels must under-  
20 stand communism with special emphasis on Communist non-  
21 military conflict technique. It is not enough to have experts  
22 available for consultation. This is basic knowledge which  
23 must be widely disseminated, if planning and implementa-

## 7

1 tion are to be geared to the conflict we are in. (The present  
2 two weeks seminar offered at the Foreign Service Institute  
3 is entirely too brief for even lower ranking personnel.)

4 IV. The private sector must understand how it can par-  
5 ticipate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic  
6 manner. There exists in the private sector a huge reservoir  
7 of talent, ingenuity, and strength which can be developed  
8 and brought to bear in helping to solve many of our global  
9 problems. We have hardly begun to explore the range of  
10 possibilities.

11 V. The public must have a deeper understanding of  
12 communism, especially Communist nonmilitary conflict tech-  
13 nique, and the nature of the global struggle, including the  
14 goals of the United States.

15 (8) The hereinafter created Freedom Academy must be  
16 a prestige institution and every effort should be made to  
17 demonstrate this is a major effort by the United States in a  
18 vital area.

19 (b) It is the intent and purpose of the Congress that  
20 the authority and powers granted in this Act be fully utilized  
21 by the Commission established by section 4 of this Act to  
22 achieve the objectives set forth in subsection (a) (7) of this  
23 section. It is the further intent and purpose of the Congress

## 8

1 that the authority, powers, and functions of the Commission  
2 and the Academy as set forth in this Act are to be broadly  
3 construed.

4 DEFINITIONS

5 SEC. 3. As used in this Act—

6 (1) The term "Commission" means the Freedom Com-  
7 mission established by section 4 of this Act; and

8 (2) The term "Academy" means the Freedom Acad-  
9 emy established by section 6 of this Act.

10 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREEDOM COMMISSION

11 SEC. 4. There is established in the executive branch of  
12 the Government an independent agency to be known as the  
13 Freedom Commission which shall be composed of six mem-  
14 bers and a chairman, each of whom shall be a citizen of the  
15 United States. The Chairman may from time to time desig-  
16 nate any other member of the Commission as Acting Chair-  
17 man to act in the place and stead of the Chairman during  
18 his absence. The Chairman (or the Acting Chairman in  
19 the absence of the Chairman) shall preside at all meetings of  
20 the Commission, and a quorum for the transaction of business  
21 shall consist of at least four members present. Each member  
22 of the Commission, including the Chairman, shall have equal  
23 responsibility and authority in all decisions and actions of the  
24 Commission, shall have full access to all information relating  
25 to the performance of his duties or responsibilities, and shall

## 9

1 have one vote. Action of the Commission shall be deter-  
2 mined by a majority vote of the members present. The  
3 Chairman (or Acting Chairman in the absence of the Chair-  
4 man) shall be the official spokesman of the Commission in  
5 its relations with the Congress, Government agencies, per-  
6 sons, or the public, and, on behalf of the Commission, shall  
7 see to the faithful execution of the policies and decisions of  
8 the Commission, and shall report thereon to the Commission  
9 from time to time or as the Commission may direct. The  
10 Commission shall have an official seal which shall be  
11 judicially noticed.

## 12 MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION

13 SEC. 5. (a) Members of the Commission and the  
14 Chairman shall be appointed by the President, by and with  
15 the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than four  
16 members, including the Chairman, may be members of any  
17 one political party. In submitting any nomination to the  
18 Senate, the President shall set forth the experience and  
19 qualifications of the nominee. The term of each member  
20 of the Commission, other than the Chairman, shall be six  
21 years, except that (1) the terms of office of the members  
22 first taking office shall expire as designated by the Presi-  
23 dent at the time of the appointment, two at the end of two  
24 years, two at the end of four years, and two at the end of

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1 six years; and (2) any member appointed to fill a vacancy  
2 occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his  
3 predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the re-  
4 mainder of such term. The Chairman shall serve as such  
5 during the pleasure of the President, and shall receive com-  
6 pensation at the rate of \$20,500 per annum. Each other  
7 member of the Commission shall receive compensation at the  
8 rate of \$20,000 per annum. Any member of the Commis-  
9 sion may be removed by the President for inefficiency,  
10 neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

11 (b) No member of the Commission shall engage in  
12 any business, vocation, or employment other than that of  
13 serving as a member of the Commission.

14 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREEDOM ACADEMY; PRINCIPAL  
15 FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION AND ACADEMY

16 SEC. 6. The Commission shall establish under its super-  
17 vision and control an advanced research, development, and  
18 training center to be known as the Freedom Academy. The  
19 Academy shall be located at such place or places within the  
20 United States as the Commission shall determine. The prin-  
21 cipal functions of the Commission and Academy shall be:

22 (1) To conduct research designed to improve the  
23 methods and means by which the United States seeks its  
24 national objectives in the nonmilitary part of the global  
25 struggle. This should include improvement of the present

## 11

1 methods and means and exploration of the full range of ad-  
2 ditional methods and means that may be available to us in  
3 both the Government and private sectors. Special attention  
4 shall be given to problems of an interdepartmental nature  
5 and to problems involved in organizing and programing the  
6 full spectrum of methods and means potentially available in  
7 the Government and private sectors in an integrated, forward  
8 strategy that will systematically develop and utilize the  
9 full capacity of the United States to seek its national objec-  
10 tives in the global struggle, including the defeat of all forms  
11 of Communist aggression and the building of free, inde-  
12 pendent, and viable nations.

13 (2) To educate and train Government personnel and  
14 private citizens so as to meet the requirements set forth in  
15 section 2 (a) (7) of this Act. The Academy shall be the  
16 principal Government interdepartmental, educational, and  
17 training center in the nonmilitary area of the United States  
18 global operations. Authority is also granted to educate and  
19 train foreign students, when this is in the national interest  
20 and is approved by the Secretary of State.

21 (3) To provide leadership in encouraging and assisting  
22 universities and other institutions to increase and improve  
23 research, educational, and training programs attuned to the  
24 global operational needs of the United States.

25 (4) To provide leadership, guidance, and assistance to

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1 the training staffs of Government agencies handling United  
2 States global operations, including training programs con-  
3 ducted at oversea posts.

4 (5) To provide a center where officers and employees  
5 of Government agencies, as well as private citizens, can meet  
6 to discuss and explore common and special elements of their  
7 problems in improving United States capabilities in the global  
8 struggle.

9 STUDENT SELECTION; GRANTS; ADMISSION OF FOREIGN  
10 STUDENTS

11 SEC. 7. (a) Academy students, other than Government  
12 personnel, shall be selected, insofar as is practicable and in  
13 the public interest, from those areas, organizations, and insti-  
14 tutions where trained leadership and informed public opinion  
15 are most needed to achieve the objectives set forth in section  
16 2 (a) (7) IV and V. Persons in Government service com-  
17 ing within the provisions of the Government Employees  
18 Training Act may be trained at the Academy pursuant to  
19 the provisions of said Act. All agencies and departments  
20 of Government are authorized to assign officers and em-  
21 ployees to the Academy for designated training.

22 (b) The Commission is authorized to make grants to  
23 students and to pay expenses incident to training and study  
24 under this Act. This authorization shall include authority  
25 to pay actual and necessary travel expenses to and from the



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1 Academy or other authorized place of training under this  
2 Act. The Commission is authorized to grant financial as-  
3 sistance to the dependents of students who hold no office or  
4 employment under the Federal Government during the time  
5 they are undergoing training authorized under this Act.  
6 Grants and other financial assistance under this Act shall be  
7 in such amounts and subject to such regulations as the Com-  
8 mission may deem appropriate to carry out the provisions  
9 of this Act.

10 (c) Foreign students selected for training under this  
11 Act shall be admitted as nonimmigrants under section 101  
12 (a) (15) (F) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8  
13 U.S.C. 1101 (a) (15) (F) ) for such time and under such  
14 conditions as may be prescribed by regulations promulgated  
15 by the Commission, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney  
16 General. A person admitted under this section who fails  
17 to maintain the status under which he was admitted, or who  
18 fails to depart from the United States at the expiration  
19 of the time for which he was admitted, or who engages in  
20 activities of a political nature detrimental to the interest  
21 of the United States, or in activities in conflict with the  
22 security of the United States, shall, upon the warrant of the  
23 Attorney General, be taken into custody and promptly  
24 deported pursuant to sections 241, 242, and 243 of the  
25 Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1251, 1252,

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1 and 1253). Deportation proceedings under this section  
2 shall be summary and findings of the Attorney General as to  
3 matters of fact shall be conclusive. Such persons shall not  
4 be eligible for suspension of deportation under section 244  
5 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1254).

## INFORMATION CENTER

6  
7 SEC. 8. The Commission is authorized to establish an  
8 information center at such place or places within the United  
9 States as the Commission may determine. The principal  
10 function of the information center shall be to disseminate,  
11 with or without charge, information and materials which will  
12 assist people and organizations to increase their understand-  
13 ing of the true nature of the international Communist con-  
14 spiracy and of the dimensions and nature of the global  
15 struggle between freedom and communism, and of ways they  
16 can participate effectively toward winning that struggle and  
17 building free, independent, and viable nations. In carrying  
18 out this function, the Commission is authorized to prepare,  
19 make, and publish textbooks and other materials, including  
20 training films, suitable for high school, college, and com-  
21 munity level instruction, and also to publish such research  
22 materials as may be in the public interest. The Commission  
23 is authorized to disseminate such information and materials  
24 to such persons and organizations as may be in the public

## 15

1 interest on such terms and conditions as the Commission  
2 shall determine.

3 DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION

4 SEC. 9. Nothing in this Act shall authorize the dis-  
5 closure of any information or knowledge in any case in which  
6 such disclosure (1) is prohibited by any other law of the  
7 United States, or (2) is inconsistent with the security of  
8 the United States.

9 SECURITY CHECK OF PERSONNEL

10 SEC. 10. (a) Except as authorized by the Commission  
11 upon a determination by the Commission that such action is  
12 clearly consistent with the national interest, no individual  
13 shall be employed by the Commission, nor shall the Com-  
14 mission permit any individual to have access to information  
15 which is, for reasons of national security, specifically desig-  
16 nated by a United States Government agency for limited or  
17 restricted dissemination or distribution until the Civil Serv-  
18 ice Commission shall have made an investigation and report  
19 to the Commission on the character, associations, and loyalty  
20 of such individual, and the Commission shall have determined  
21 that employing such individual or permitting him to have  
22 access to such information will not endanger the common  
23 defense and security.

24 (b) In the event an investigation made pursuant to

## 16

1 subsection (a) of this section develops any data reflecting  
2 that the individual who is the subject of the investigation is  
3 of questionable loyalty or is a questionable security risk, the  
4 Civil Service Commission shall refer the matter to the Fed-  
5 eral Bureau of Investigation for the conduct of a full field  
6 investigation, the results of which shall be furnished to the  
7 Civil Service Commission for its information and appropriate  
8 action.

9 (c) If the Commission deems it to be in the national  
10 interest, the Commission may request the Civil Service Com-  
11 mission to make an investigation and report to the Commis-  
12 sion on the character, associations, and loyalty of any indi-  
13 vidual under consideration for training at the Academy, and  
14 if the Commission shall then determine that the training of  
15 such individual will not be in the best interest of the United  
16 States, he shall receive no training under this Act.

17 (d) In the event an investigation made pursuant to  
18 subsection (c) of this section develops any data reflecting  
19 that the individual who is the subject of the investigation is  
20 of questionable loyalty or is a questionable security risk,  
21 the Civil Service Commission shall refer the matter to the  
22 Federal Bureau of Investigation for the conduct of a full  
23 field investigation, the results of which shall be furnished to  
24 the Civil Service Commission for its information and appro-  
25 priate action.

(e) If the President or the Commission shall deem it to be in the national interest, he or the Commission may from time to time cause investigation of any individual which is required or authorized by subsections (a) and (c) of this section to be made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation instead of by the Civil Service Commission.

#### GENERAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 11. (a) In addition to the authority already granted, the Commission is authorized and empowered—

(1) to establish such temporary or permanent boards and committees as the Commission may from time to time deem necessary for the purposes of this Act;

(2) subject to the provisions of subsection (b) of this section, to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Commission;

(3) to conduct such research, studies, and surveys as the Commission may deem necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act;

(4) to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act;

(5) to make such expenditures as may be necessary

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1 for administering and carrying out the provisions of  
2 this Act;

3 (6) to utilize, with the approval of the President,  
4 the services, facilities, and personnel of other Govern-  
5 ment agencies and pay for such services, facilities, and  
6 personnel out of funds available to the Commission under  
7 this Act, either in advance, by reimbursement, or by  
8 direct transfer;

9 (7) to utilize or employ on a full-time or part-time  
10 basis, with the consent of the organization or govern-  
11 mental body concerned, the services of personnel of any  
12 State or local government or private organization to  
13 perform such functions on its behalf as may appear  
14 desirable to carry out the purposes of this Act, without  
15 requiring such personnel to sever their connection with  
16 the furnishing organization or governmental body; and  
17 to utilize personnel of a foreign government in the same  
18 manner and under the same circumstances with the  
19 approval of the Secretary of State;

20 (8) to acquire by purchase, lease, loan, or gift, and  
21 to hold and dispose of by sale, lease, or loan, real and  
22 personal property of all kinds necessary for, or resulting  
23 from, the exercise of authority granted by this Act;

24 (9) to receive and use funds donated by others, if  
25 such funds are donated without restrictions other than

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1 that they be used in furtherance of one or more of the  
2 purposes of this Act;

3 (10) to accept and utilize the services of voluntary  
4 and uncompensated personnel and to provide transporta-  
5 tion and subsistence as authorized by section 5 of the  
6 Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-  
7 2) for persons serving without compensation;

8 (11) to utilize the services of persons on a tem-  
9 porary basis and to pay their actual and necessary  
10 travel expenses and subsistence and, in addition, com-  
11 pensation at a rate not to exceed \$50 per day for each  
12 day spent in the work of the Commission.

13 (b) The personnel referred to in subsection (a) (2)  
14 of this section shall be appointed in accordance with the  
15 civil service laws and their compensation fixed in accord-  
16 ance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, ex-  
17 cept that, to the extent the Commission deems such action  
18 necessary to the discharge of its responsibilities, personnel  
19 may be employed and their compensation fixed without re-  
20 gard to such laws. No such personnel (except such per-  
21 sonnel whose compensation is fixed by law, and specially  
22 qualified professional personnel up to a limit of \$19,000)  
23 whose position would be subject to the Classification Act  
24 of 1949, as amended, if such Act were applicable to such  
25 position, shall be paid a salary at a rate in excess of the rate

## 20

1 payable under such Act for positions of equivalent difficulty  
2 or responsibility. The Commission shall make adequate  
3 provision for administrative review of any determination  
4 to dismiss any employee.

5                   GENERAL MANAGER OF THE COMMISSION

6       SEC. 12. The Commission is authorized to establish  
7 within the Commission a general manager, who shall dis-  
8 charge such of the administrative and executive functions  
9 of the Commission as the Commission may direct. The  
10 general manager shall be appointed by the Commission,  
11 shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission, shall be re-  
12 movable by the Commission, and shall receive compensation  
13 at a rate determined by the Commission, but not in excess  
14 of \$18,000 per annum.

15                   ADVISORY COMMITTEE

16       SEC. 13. (a) To assure effective cooperation between  
17 the Freedom Academy and various Government agencies  
18 concerned with its objectives, there is established an advisory  
19 committee to the Freedom Academy (referred to hereinafter  
20 as the "Committee"). The Committee shall be composed of  
21 one representative of each of the following agencies desig-  
22 nated by the head of each such agency from officers and em-  
23 ployees thereof: The Department of State; the Department  
24 of Defense; the Department of Health, Education, and Wel-



## 21

1 fare; the Central Intelligence Agency; the Federal Bureau  
2 of Investigation; the Agency for International Development;  
3 and the United States Information Agency.

4 (b) Members of the Committee shall elect a member  
5 to serve as Chairman of the Committee. The Chairman shall  
6 serve for such a term of one year. The chairmanship shall  
7 rotate among the representatives of the agencies who com-  
8 prise the membership of the Committee.

9 (c) No member of the Committee shall receive compen-  
10 sation for his services as such other than that received by him  
11 as an officer or employee of the agency represented by him.  
12 Each member of the Committee shall be reimbursed for ex-  
13 penses actually and necessarily incurred by him in the per-  
14 formance of duties of the Committee. Such reimbursements  
15 shall be made from funds appropriated to the Freedom Com-  
16 mission upon vouchers approved by the Chairman of the  
17 Committee.

18 (d) The Committee shall—

19 (1) serve as a medium for liaison between the  
20 Freedom Commission and the Government agencies  
21 represented in the Committee;

22 (2) review from time to time the plans, programs,  
23 and activities of the Freedom Commission and the Free-  
24 dom Academy, and transmit to the Commission such

## 22

1        recommendations as it may determine to be necessary or  
2        desirable for the improvement of those plans, programs,  
3        and activities;

4            (3) meet with the Freedom Commission periodi-  
5        cally, but not less often than semiannually, to consult  
6        with it with regard to the plans, programs, and activities  
7        of the Freedom Commission and the Federal Academy;  
8        and

9            (4) transmit to the President and to the Congress  
10       in January of each year a report containing (A) a com-  
11       prehensive description of the plans, programs, and activi-  
12       ties of the Commission and the Academy during the  
13       preceding calendar year, and (B) its recommendations  
14       for the improvement of those plans, programs, and  
15       activities.

16        (e) The Committee shall promulgate such rules and  
17       regulations as it shall determine to be necessary for the  
18       performance of its duties.

19        (f) The Commission shall furnish to the Committee  
20       without reimbursement such office space, personal services,  
21       supplies and equipment, information, and facilities as the  
22       Committee may require for the performance of its functions.

## 1 APPROPRIATIONS

2 SEC. 14. There is authorized to be appropriated, out of  
3 any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such  
4 sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this  
5 Act.

89TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 1033

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 4, 1965

Mr. GUBSER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities

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[H.R. 5784, introduced by Mr. Ashbrook March 3, 1965, is identical to H.R. 1033.]

## A BILL

To create the Freedom Commission for the development of the science of counteraction to the world Communist conspiracy and for the training and development of leaders in a total political war.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SHORT TITLE**

4 **SECTION 1.** This Act may be cited as the "Freedom  
5 Commission Act".

6 **CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS AND STATEMENT OF POLICY**

7 **SEC. 2. (a)** The Congress of the United States makes  
8 the following findings:

9 (1) The Soviet Union and Communist China are wag-

## 2

1 ing a total political war against the United States and  
2 against the peoples and governments of all other nations of  
3 the free world.

4 (2) Unlike the free world, the Soviet Union has sys-  
5 tematically prepared for this total political war over several  
6 decades. Drawing on the experience of previous conquerors  
7 and upon their own elaborate studies and extensive pragmatic  
8 tests, the Soviet leaders have developed their conspiratorial  
9 version of political warfare into a highly effective operational  
10 science. Recognizing that political warfare is a difficult  
11 science making unusual demands on its practitioners, the  
12 Soviet Union and Communist China have established an  
13 elaborate network of training schools, within and without the  
14 free world, in which have been trained large numbers of  
15 highly skilled activists. These activists continue to receive  
16 intensive continuous training throughout their party careers.

17 (3) In this total political war the Soviets permit no  
18 neutrals. Every citizen, every economic, cultural, religious,  
19 or ethnic group is a target and is under some form of direct  
20 or indirect Communist attack. The battleground is every-  
21 where, and every citizen, knowingly or unknowingly,  
22 through action or inaction, is involved in this continuous  
23 struggle.

24 (4) Since the end of World War II, the Soviets, tak-  
25 ing full advantage of their better preparation and often supe-

## 3

rior organizational and operational know-how, have inflicted a series of political warfare defeats on the free world. The total sum of these defeats is nothing less than a disaster for the United States and the free world and the continuation of this political war by the Soviets confronts the United States with a grave, present, and continuing danger to its national survival.

(5) In order to defeat the Soviet political warfare offensive and to preserve the integrity and independence of the nations of the free world, it is imperative—

(A) that the knowledge and understanding of all the peoples of the free world concerning the true nature of the international Communist conspiracy be increased as rapidly as is practicable;

(B) that private citizens not only understand the true nature of the international Communist conspiracy, but that they also know how they can participate, and do participate, in this continuous struggle in an effective, sustained, and systematic manner;

(C) that Government personnel engaged in the cold war increase their knowledge of the international Communist conspiracy, develop a high esprit de corps and sense of mission and a high degree of operational know-how in counteracting the international Communist conspiracy.

## 4

(b) It is the intent and purpose of the Congress that the authority and powers granted in this Act be fully utilized by the hereinafter created Commission to achieve the objectives set forth in the preceding subsection (a) (5) of this section. It is the further intent and purpose of the Congress that the authority, powers, and functions of the Commission and the Academy as hereinafter set forth are to be broadly construed.

## DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. When used in this chapter—

(1) The term "Commission" means the Freedom Commission;

(2) The term "Academy" means the Freedom Academy; and

(3) The term "joint committee" means the Joint Congressional Freedom Committee.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREEDOM COMMISSION; COMPOSITION; CHAIRMAN AND ACTING CHAIRMAN; QUORUM; OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN; SEAL

SEC. 4. There is established in the executive branch of the Government an independent agency to be known as the Freedom Commission which shall be composed of six members and a Chairman, each of whom shall be a citizen of the United States. The Chairman may from time to time designate any other member of the Commission as

## 5

1 Acting Chairman to act in the place and stead of the Chair-  
2 man during his absence. The Chairman (or the Acting  
3 Chairman in the absence of the Chairman) shall preside at  
4 all meetings of the Commission and a quorum for the trans-  
5 action of business shall consist of at least four members  
6 present. Each member of the Commission, including the  
7 Chairman, shall have equal responsibility and authority in  
8 all decisions and actions of the Commission, shall have full  
9 access to all information relating to the performance of his  
10 duties or responsibilities, and shall have one vote. Action  
11 of the Commission shall be determined by a majority vote  
12 of the members present. The Chairman (or Acting Chair-  
13 man in the absence of the Chairman) shall be the official  
14 spokesman of the Commission in its relations with the Con-  
15 gress, Government agencies, persons, or the public, and,  
16 on behalf of the Commission, shall see to the faithful execu-  
17 tion of the policies and decisions of the Commission, and  
18 shall report thereon to the Commission from time to time  
19 or as the Commission may direct. The Commission shall  
20 have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

21 MEMBERS; APPOINTMENTS; TERMS; COMPENSATION;

22 EXTRANEOUS BUSINESS

23 SEC. 5. (a) Members of the Commission and the Chair-  
24 man shall be appointed by the President, by and with the  
25 advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than four



## 6

1 members, including the Chairman, may be members of any  
2 one political party. In submitting any nomination to the  
3 Senate, the President shall set forth the experience and quali-  
4 fications of the nominee. The term of each member of the  
5 Commission, other than the Chairman, shall be six years,  
6 except that (1) the terms of office of the members first tak-  
7 ing office shall expire as designated by the President at the  
8 time of the appointment, two at the end of two years, two at  
9 the end of four years, and two at the end of six years; and  
10 (2) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior  
11 to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was  
12 appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such  
13 term. The Chairman shall serve during the pleasure of the  
14 President. Any member of the Commission may be removed  
15 by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or mal-  
16 feasance in office. Each member, except the Chairman,  
17 shall receive compensation at the rate of \$20,000 per annum;  
18 and the Chairman shall receive compensation at the rate of  
19 \$20,500 per annum.

20 (b) No member of the Commission shall engage in any  
21 business, vocation, or employment other than that of serving  
22 as a member of the Commission.

## 7

1 AUTHORIZATION TO ESTABLISH THE FREEDOM ACADEMY;  
2 FUNCTIONS

3 SEC. 6. The Commission is authorized and empowered  
4 to establish under its supervision and control an advanced  
5 training and development center to be known as the Freedom  
6 Academy. The Academy shall be located at such place or  
7 places within the United States as the Commission shall  
8 determine. The principal functions of the Academy shall  
9 be—

10 (1) the development of systematic knowledge  
11 about the international Communist conspiracy;

12 (2) the development of counteraction to the inter-  
13 national Communist conspiracy into an operational  
14 science that befits and bespeaks the methods and values  
15 of freemen, and to achieve this purpose the entire area  
16 of counteraction is to be thoroughly explored and studied  
17 with emphasis on the methods and means that may best  
18 be employed by private citizens and nongovernmental  
19 organizations and the methods and means available to  
20 Government agencies other than the methods and means  
21 already being used;

22 (3) the education and training of private citizens

8

1 concerning all aspects of the international Communist  
2 conspiracy and in the science of counteraction to that  
3 conspiracy;

4 (4) the education and training of persons in Gov-  
5 ernment service concerning all aspects of the interna-  
6 tional Communist conspiracy and in the science of  
7 counteraction to that conspiracy to the end that they can  
8 be more useful to their Government in defeating the  
9 international Communist conspiracy.

10 ACADEMY STUDENTS; SELECTION; GRANTS AND EXPENSES;

11 ADMISSION AS NONIMMIGRANT VISITORS; DEPORTA-  
12 TION

13 SEC. 7. (a) Academy students shall be selected, insofar  
14 as is practicable and in the public interest, from a cross  
15 section of the diverse groups, within and without the United  
16 States, in which the total political war is being fought.  
17 Before accepting any student for training who is an officer  
18 or employee of a Government agency, the Commission shall  
19 first obtain the concurrence of that agency. Persons in  
20 Government service coming within the provisions of the  
21 Government Employees Training Act may be trained at the  
22 Academy pursuant to the provisions of said Act. All other  
23 agencies and departments of Government are authorized to  
24 aid and assist the Commission in the selection of students.

## 9

1       (b) The Commission is authorized to make grants to  
2 students and to pay expenses incident to training and study  
3 under this chapter. This authorization shall include au-  
4 thority to pay travel expenses to and from the Academy  
5 or other authorized place of training under this chapter, and  
6 authority to give financial assistance to the dependents of  
7 students during the time they are undergoing training au-  
8 thorized under this Act. Foreign students selected for train-  
9 ing under this Act shall be admitted as nonimmigrants under  
10 section 1101 (a) (15) of title 8, United States Code, for  
11 such time and under such conditions as may be prescribed  
12 by regulations promulgated by the Commission, the Sec-  
13 retary of State, and the Attorney General. A person ad-  
14 mitted under this section who fails to maintain the status  
15 under which he was admitted, or who fails to depart from  
16 the United States at the expiration of the time for which  
17 he was admitted, or who engages in activities of a political  
18 nature detrimental to the interest of the United States, or  
19 in activities in conflict with the security of the United States,  
20 shall, upon the warrant of the Attorney General, be taken  
21 into custody and promptly deported pursuant to sections  
22 1251-1253 of title 8, United States Code. Deportation  
23 proceedings under this section shall be summary and findings

## 10

1 of the Attorney General as to matters of fact shall be con-  
2 clusive. Such persons shall not be eligible for suspension of  
3 deportation under section 1254 of such title 8.

## 4 NON-ACADEMY TRAINING OF ACADEMY STUDENTS

5 SEC. 8. The Commission is authorized to provide stu-  
6 dents selected for training at the Academy (either before,  
7 after, or during Academy training) with such additional edu-  
8 cation and training at colleges, universities, or technical  
9 schools other than the Academy, or with such on-the-job  
10 training in industry and business as the Commission shall  
11 determine to be in the public interest.

## 12 AUTHORIZATION TO ESTABLISH AN INFORMATION CENTER

13 SEC. 9. The Commission is authorized to establish an  
14 information center at such place or places within the United  
15 States as the Commission may determine. The principal  
16 function of the information center shall be to disseminate  
17 with or without charge information and materials which will  
18 assist persons and organizations to increase their under-  
19 standing of the true nature of the international Communist  
20 conspiracy and the ways and means of defeating that con-  
21 spiracy. In carrying out this function, the Commission is  
22 authorized to prepare, make, and publish textbooks and other  
23 materials, including training films, suitable for high school,  
24 college, and community level instruction. The Commission  
25 is authorized to disseminate such information and materials

## 11

1 to such persons and organizations as may be in the public  
2 interest on such terms and conditions as the Commission  
3 shall determine.

4 RESTRICTIONS ON DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION

5 SEC. 10. Nothing in this chapter shall authorize the dis-  
6 closure of any information or knowledge in any case in which  
7 such disclosure (1) is prohibited by any other law of the  
8 United States, or (2) is inconsistent with the security of the  
9 United States.

10 SECURITY CHECK OF PERSONNEL

11 SEC. 11. (a) Except as authorized by the Commission  
12 upon a determination by the Commission that such action is  
13 clearly consistent with the national interest, no individual  
14 shall be employed by the Commission until such individual  
15 has been investigated by the Civil Service Commission to  
16 determine whether the said individual is a good security risk  
17 and a report thereof has been made to the Freedom  
18 Commission.

19 (b) In addition to the foregoing provisions, the Com-  
20 mission may request that any individual employed by the  
21 Commission, or under consideration for employment by the  
22 Commission, be investigated by the Federal Bureau of In-  
23 vestigation to determine whether the said individual is a good  
24 security risk.

## 12

## 1           GENERAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMISSION

2       SEC. 12. In addition to the authority already granted,  
3 the Commission is authorized and empowered—

4           (1) to establish such temporary or permanent  
5 boards and committees as the Commission may from  
6 time to time deem necessary for the purposes of this  
7 Act;

8           (2) to appoint and fix the compensation of such  
9 personnel as may be necessary to carry out the functions  
10 of the Commission. Such personnel shall be appointed  
11 in accordance with the civil service laws and their com-  
12 pensation fixed in accordance with the Classification  
13 Act of 1949, as amended, except that, to the extent the  
14 Commission deems such action necessary to the dis-  
15 charge of its responsibilities, personnel may be employed  
16 and their compensation fixed without regard to such  
17 laws: *Provided, however.* That no personnel (except  
18 such personnel whose compensation is fixed by law, and  
19 specially qualified professional personnel up to a limit  
20 of \$19,000) whose position would be subject to the  
21 Classification Act of 1949, as amended, if such Act were  
22 applicable to such position, shall be paid a salary at a  
23 rate in excess of the rate payable under such Act for  
24 positions of equivalent difficulty or responsibility. The  
25 Commission shall make adequate provision for admin-

## 13

1        istrative review of any determination to dismiss any  
2        employee;

3            (3) to conduct such research, studies and surveys as  
4        necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act;

5            (4) to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend  
6        such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry  
7        out the purposes of this Act;

8            (5) to make such expenditures as may be necessary  
9        for administering and carrying out the provisions of this  
10       Act;

11           (6) to utilize, with the approval of the President,  
12        the services, facilities, and personnel of other Govern-  
13        ment agencies. Whenever the Commission shall use the  
14        services, facilities, or personnel of any Government  
15        agency for activities under the authority of this Act, the  
16        Commission shall pay for such performance out of funds  
17        available to the Commission under this Act, either in  
18        advance, by reimbursement, or by direct transfer;

19           (7) to utilize or employ on a full- or part-time basis,  
20        with the consent of the organization or governmental  
21        body concerned, the services of personnel of any State  
22        or local government or private organization to perform  
23        such functions on its behalf as may appear desirable to  
24        carry out the purposes of this Act, without said person-  
25        nel severing their connection with the furnishing organ-



14

1        ization or governmental body; and further to utilize per-  
2        sonnel of a foreign government in the same manner and  
3        under the same circumstances with the approval of the  
4        Secretary of State;

5            (8) to acquire by purchase, lease, loan, or gift, and  
6        to hold and dispose of by sale, lease, or loan, real and  
7        personal property of all kinds necessary for, or resulting  
8        from, the exercise of authority granted by this Act;

9            (9) to receive and use funds donated by others, if  
10       such funds are donated without restrictions other than  
11       that they be used in furtherance of one or more of the  
12       purposes of this Act;

13           (10) to accept and utilize the services of vol-  
14       untary and uncompensated personnel and to provide  
15       transportation and subsistence as authorized by section  
16       73b-2 of title 5, United States Code, for persons serving  
17       without compensation;

18           (11) to utilize the services of persons on a tempo-  
19       rary basis and to pay their actual and necessary travel  
20       expenses and subsistence and in addition compensation  
21       at a rate not to exceed \$50 per day for each day spent  
22       in the work of the Commission.

23       GENERAL MANAGER; APPOINTMENT; COMPENSATION

24       SEC. 13. The Commission is authorized to establish  
25       within the Commission a General Manager, who shall dis-

## 15

1 charge such of the administrative and executive functions of  
2 the Commission as the Commission may direct. The Gen-  
3 eral Manager shall be appointed by the Commission, shall  
4 serve at the pleasure of the Commission, shall be removable  
5 by the Commission, and shall receive compensation at a rate  
6 determined by the Commission, but not in excess of \$18,000  
7 per annum.

8 ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT CONGRESSIONAL FREEDOM  
9 COMMITTEE; MEMBERSHIP

10 SEC. 14. There is established the Joint Congressional  
11 Freedom Committee hereinafter referred to as the "joint com-  
12 mittee" to be composed of seven Members of the Senate to  
13 be appointed by the President of the Senate, and seven Mem-  
14 bers of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the  
15 Speaker of the House of Representatives. In each instance  
16 not more than four Members shall be the members of the  
17 same political party.

18 AUTHORITY AND DUTY OF JOINT COMMITTEE

19 SEC. 15. The joint committee shall make continued  
20 studies of the activities of the Commission and of problems  
21 relating to the development of counteraction to the inter-  
22 national Communist conspiracy. During the first sixty days  
23 of each session of the Congress the joint committee shall  
24 conduct hearings in either open or executive session for the  
25 purposes of receiving information concerning the develop-

## 16

1 ment and state of counteraction. The Commission shall keep  
2 the joint committee fully and currently informed with re-  
3 spect to all of the Commission's activities. All bills, reso-  
4 lutions, and other matters in the Senate or House of  
5 Representatives relating primarily to the Commission shall  
6 be referred to the joint committee. The members of the  
7 joint committee who are Members of the Senate shall from  
8 time to time report to the Senate and the members of the  
9 joint committee who are Members of the House of Repre-  
10 sentatives shall from time to time report to the House, by  
11 bill or otherwise, their recommendations with respect to mat-  
12 ters within the jurisdiction of their respective Houses which  
13 are referred to the joint committee, or otherwise within the  
14 jurisdiction of the joint committee.

15 CHAIRMAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF JOINT COMMITTEE;  
16 VACANCIES IN MEMBERSHIP

17 SEC. 16. Vacancies in the membership of the joint com-  
18 mittee shall not affect the power of the remaining members  
19 to execute the functions of the joint committee, and shall be  
20 filled in the same manner as in the case of the original se-  
21 lection. The joint committee shall select a chairman and a  
22 vice chairman from among its members at the beginning of  
23 each Congress. The vice chairman shall act in the place  
24 and stead of the chairman in the absence of the chairman.  
25 The chairmanship shall alternate between the Senate and the

## 17

1 House of Representatives with each Congress, and the chair-  
2 man shall be selected by the members from that House  
3 entitled to the chairmanship. The vice chairman shall be  
4 chosen from the House other than that of the chairman by  
5 the members from that House.

## 6 POWERS OF JOINT COMMITTEE

7 SEC. 17. In carrying out its duties under this chapter,  
8 the joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee  
9 thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings or investigations,  
10 to sit and act at such places and times, to require by sub-  
11 pena or otherwise, the attendance of such witnesses and the  
12 production of such books, papers, and documents, to admin-  
13 ister such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such  
14 printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it  
15 deems advisable. The joint committee may make such rules  
16 respecting its organization and procedures as it deems neces-  
17 sary: *Provided, however,* That no measure or recommenda-  
18 tion shall be reported from the joint committee or by any  
19 member designated by him or by the joint committee, and  
20 may be served by such person or persons as may be desig-  
21 nated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the  
22 joint committee or any member thereof may administer oaths  
23 to witnesses. The joint committee may use a committee  
24 seal. The provisions of sections 192-194 of title 2, United  
25 States Code, shall apply in case of any failure of any wit-

## 18

1   ness to comply with a subpoena or to testify when summoned  
2   under authority of this section. The expenses of the joint  
3   committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the  
4   Senate from funds appropriated for the joint committee upon  
5   vouchers approved by the chairman. The cost of steno-  
6   graphic services to report public hearings shall not be in  
7   excess of the amounts prescribed by law for reporting the  
8   hearings of standing committees of the Senate. The cost of  
9   stenographic services to report executive hearings shall be  
10   fixed at an equitable rate by the joint committee. Mem-  
11   bers of the joint committee, and its employees and consult-  
12   ants, while traveling on official business for the joint com-  
13   mittee, may receive either the per diem allowance authorized  
14   to be paid to Members of Congress or its employees, or their  
15   actual and necessary expenses provided an itemized state-  
16   ment of such expenses is attached to the voucher.

17   STAFF AND ASSISTANCE; UTILIZATION OF FEDERAL  
18   DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES; ARMED PROTECTION

19   SEC. 18. The joint committee is empowered to appoint  
20   and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and  
21   staff employees as it deems necessary and advisable. The  
22   joint committee is authorized to utilize the services, informa-  
23   tion, facilities, and personnel of the departments and  
24   establishments of the Government.

## 19

## 1 CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION BY JOINT COMMITTEE

2 SEC. 19. The joint committee may classify information  
3 originating within the committee in accordance with stand-  
4 ards used generally by the executive branch for classifying  
5 restricted data or defense information.

## 6 RECORDS OF JOINT COMMITTEE

7 SEC. 20. The joint committee shall keep a complete  
8 record of all committee actions, including a record of the  
9 votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded.  
10 All committee records, data, charts, and files shall be the  
11 property of the joint committee and shall be kept in the  
12 offices of the joint committee or other places as the joint  
13 committee may direct under such security safeguards as the  
14 joint committee shall determine in the interest of the com-  
15 mon defense and security.

## 16 APPROPRIATIONS

17 SEC. 21. There is authorized to be appropriated, out of  
18 any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, so  
19 much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of  
20 this Act.

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